



[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge. —Qur'an]

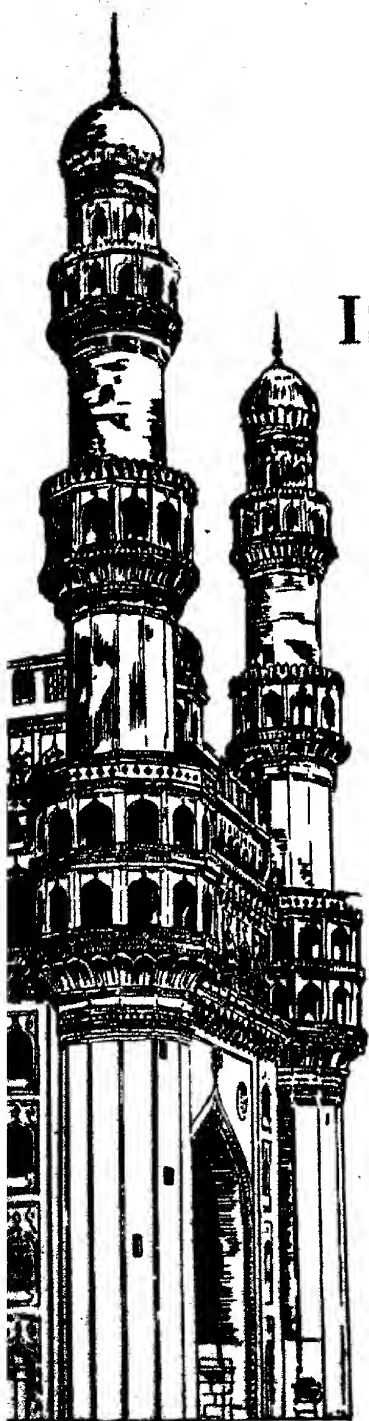
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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL NOTE	
I CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF HOSPITALS IN MEDIÆVAL ISLAM	
—DR SH. INAYATULLAH	1
II. A RARE OTTOMAN MS. WITH TWO CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS OF MURĀD III (<i>Illustrated</i>)	
—DR. R. B. SERJEANT (<i>of Cambridge</i>)	15
III. LAHORE	
—MUHD. BAQIR, ESQR.	19
IV MEDIÆVAL MUSLIM POLITICAL THEORIES OF REBELLION AGAINST THE STATE	
—MOHIBUL HASAN KHAN, ESQR.	36
V. ALĀ'-UD-DIN'S PRICE CONTROL SYSTEM	
—DHARAM PAL, ESQR.	45
VI. THE MINSTRELS OF THE GOLDEN AGE OF ISLAM (<i>Continued from July 1943</i>)	
—DR. H. G. FARMER (<i>of Scotland</i>)	53
VII THE CENTRAL STRUCTURE OF THE SULTANATE OF DELHI	
—DR. MUHD. AZIZ AHMAD	62
VIII. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES	84
HYDERABAD	
DECCAN	
DELHI	
NORTH-WESTERN INDIA	
FOREIGN	
IX. NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW	103

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The New Year for the Islamic Culture has set in with the auspicious event that H.M. the King Emperor has been graciously pleased to confer upon its President—The Hon'ble Dr. Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur—the honour of Knighthood in recognition of the meritorious services the Hon'ble Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur has rendered to the educational, political, judicial and administrative progress of Hyderabad. Only recently the Nawab Saheb has been awarded an honorary degree of D.Litt. by the Osmania University as he has so successfully served the University in capacity of its Vice-Chancellor and Education Member. The successful career of the Islamic Culture is also indebted to the ripe experience and keen interest of this veteran scholar and patron of learning—Dr. Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur—under whose able guidance the Journal has been so far conducted. The Islamic Culture therefore feels satisfied to see that the distinguished services of its President have received deserving appreciation and recognition. It is in the fitness of things that this auspicious beginning of the year should be placed on record as it ensures further success and prosperous future for the Islamic Culture.

We take this opportunity to wish happy New Hijra Year to and thank the members of the Islamic Culture Boards, learned contributors of articles, subscribers and the Hyderabad Government Central Press for their good co-operation which has made it possible for us to keep up the high standard of the Journal and place it in the hands of the readers at its usual price in spite of the war.

Ed., I.C.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF HOSPITALS IN MEDIAEVAL ISLAM

WHEN Ibn-Jubayr, the Spanish-Arabian scholar and traveller, visited the Eastern lands of Islam in the second half of the 6th century of the Hijra era, he was much struck by the large number and magnificent equipment of the hospitals which he found there; and anyone who reads the interesting and impressive accounts of these institutions in the Arabic literary sources will readily agree with the Spanish savant's remark that the hospitals of those days constituted one of the chief glories of the Muslim world.¹

The hospitals that came into existence in the early centuries of Islam are an index to the economic prosperity of those times as well as a manifestation of the humanitarian spirit of their founders. They are also deserving of our serious study, as they represent a brilliant aspect of the remarkable development of medical science among the Muslims. In the present article it is proposed to make a rapid survey of such institutions, to give a brief account of the circumstances in which they arose, and to call attention to certain prominent features that characterized them.

THE HOSPICE OF WALID

THE first institution for the sick, of which we hear in Islamic times, was the infirmary established by the Omayyad Caliph al-Walid, as is recorded by at-Ṭabarī and other later historians.² We are told that in 88 A.H. the lepers and the blind were segregated, and an adequate supply of food was provided for them. When Ibn-Jubayr visited Damascus about five hundred years later, he saw a number of lunatics in the Old Hospital, where they were still in receipt of some sort of medical treatment.³

1 هذه المستشفيات معمر عظيم من معاصر الاسلام (Ibn-Jubayr, *Rihlah*, Leyden, 1907, p. 284).

2 at-Ṭabarī, *Annales* (Leyden edition), II, p. 1196; and Maqrizī, *Kḥṭaṭ*, II, p. 405.

3. Ibn-Jubayr, *Rihlah*, 2nd ed. (Leyden, 1907), p. 283

HOSPITALS AT BAGHDĀD

A FEW decades after the reign of al-Walīd, however, the centre of Muslim political power and culture shifted to the newly-founded capital of Baghdād, which also became the centre of the great scientific movement under the 'Abbasids. It was at Baghdād that the influences of Greek, Persian, and Indian sciences began to pour into the Muslim world, assumed large volume, and took on an Arabian character. Just as Persian influences began to be felt more and more in administration and many other spheres of life, so in the field of medicine too the traditions of the old Sassanian school of Jundi-Shāpur became predominant. Thanks to the enlightened policy of the Sassanids, this medical school had grown from strength to strength and had become a meeting-point for Greek and Indian sciences, with an underlying Persian element. When the 'Abbasids established themselves at Baghdād, this school was still flourishing. In 765 A.D., when the second 'Abbasid Caliph, al-Manṣūr, was afflicted with an illness which baffled his medical advisers, he summoned to attend him Jurjis, the son of Bakhtīshū, the chief physician of the hospital at Jundi-Shāpur; and when the great physician returned after four years' sojourn at Baghdād, he sent his pupil 'Isā b. Shāhlah to replace him at the Metropolis.¹

When Hārūn ar-Rashīd, the fifth 'Abbasid Caliph, wanted to establish a hospital at Baghdād, eyes were again turned towards Jundi-Shāpur; and he requisitioned the services of Jibrīl b. Bakhtīshū for the purpose. Abū-Yahyā Zakariyā b. Māsawayh, who specialized in pharmacology, was appointed director of this hospital, which was the first institution of its kind to be founded at Baghdād.²

At the medical school of Jundi-Shāpur, the theory and practice of medicine went hand in hand: it was a teaching institution as well as a hospital, where patients were admitted and treated for their respective ailments. The hospital bore the Persian name of Bīmāristān (بیمارستان), or the house of the sick; and since the first hospital at Baghdād was organized by the associates of the school of Jundi-Shāpur, most probably on the model of their own institution, the hospital at Baghdād also came to be known as Bīmāristān, which is in fact the earliest word used in Arabic literature for a hospital. Later on, it was abbreviated to Māristān. From very early times, patients suffering from mental diseases were also accommodated in hospitals; but in the period of decline, when proper medical treatment was no longer available at these hospitals and the ordinary patients ceased to visit them, there remained only the helpless lunatics as the sole inmates of these institutions, as also happened in the case of several hospitals in Egypt and Syria. The result was that the word

1 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-Hukamā'*, ed. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), p. 158.

2 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-Hukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903) p. 383; Ibn-Abī 'Uṣaybi'a: *Tabaqāt al-Aṭṭibā'*, Vol. II, p. 175.

Māristān gradually fell into disrepute; and in the Arabic-speaking countries it came to denote only a lunatic asylum, whereas a hospital came to be designated by the purely Arabic word, *Mustashfā*.

HOSPITALS OF THE BARMECIDES

THE celebrated family of the Barmecides also founded a hospital at Baghdād. A special feature of this hospital seems to have been that the Indian system of medicine was predominant at this institution, which was directed by a Hindu physician, called (ابن دهن) by Arabic authors. Moreover, we learn from the *Fihrist* of Ibn an-Nadīm that the Vizier Yaḥyā b. Khālīd of the same family sent an agent to India to fetch the materia medica peculiar to that country. He also invited several Indian physicians, who translated a number of medical works from Sanskrit into Arabic, including an Indian Pharmacopœia, which was introduced in the hospitals of Baghdād. The Barmecides seem to have been firmly persuaded that the sources of Indian wisdom had not gone dry, and that India had yet to teach a great deal to the outside world. The facts recorded by Arabic authors sufficiently indicate that the Barmecides were instrumental in importing a considerable amount of Indian medical lore into the general system of the so-called Yūnānī (Ionian) medicine, current in the Muslim world; so that when 'Alī b. Rabbān wrote his *Firdaws al-Hikmah* in the reign of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, he was able to give in the concluding part of his work a summary of Indian medicine in 36 sections.¹ Similarly, in another work of his, entitled *Ḥifẓ aṣ-Ṣiḥḥa*, he follows Indian as well as Greek authorities.

HOSPITALS UNDER AL-MUQTADIR

ANOTHER royal hospital founded at Baghdād was that of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, who opened it about the beginning of the 4th century of the Hījra era on the advice of Sinān, the son of the famous translator, Thābit, b. Qurra. It was situated near the Bāb al-Shām, and was named after its founder, who assigned to it a monthly expenditure of 200 dinars out of his own privy purse. Many eminent physicians served at this hospital from time to time, the most distinguished of them being the famous Ibn-Zakariyā ar-Rāzī.²

Another hospital at Baghdād stands to the credit of al-Muqtadir's Vizier, 'Alī b. 'Isā, who, in an age of corruption and oppression, served his master for several years with rare integrity and ability.³ Besides being

1. *Firdaws-u'l-Hikmat* of 'Alī bin Rabbān aṭ-Ṭabarī, edited by Muḥammad az-Zubayr aṣ-Ṣiddīqī, 1928.

2. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-Hukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), p. 194; and Ibn-Abī 'Uṣaybi'a, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, II, p. 222.

3. On the life of 'Alī b. 'Isā, see the excellent monograph of Harold Bowen, *the Life and Times of 'Alī ibn-'Isā* (Cambridge) 1928.

a good financier and economist, 'Alī b. 'Isā was also deeply interested in works of public utility, so that Baghdād came to have another hospital through the generosity and humanitarian spirit of this good Vizier. This hospital was situated in the Harbiyya quarter of Baghdād, and its entire expenses were borne by the Vizier alone out of his private income.¹

While the generous Vizier, 'Alī b. 'Isā, presented the inhabitants of Baghdād with a new hospital, he was at the same time not unmindful of the needs of the people living in the countryside. He felt that there must be many sick persons in the outlying districts of Iraq, who stood in need of medical aid but could not avail themselves of the services of competent physicians. Accordingly, he asked Sinān b. Thābit to organize medical relief in the rural areas, and wrote to him several letters on the subject, the substance of which has been given by the son of Sinān in a biographical sketch of his illustrious father, which has been fortunately preserved through the industry of Ibn-Abī 'Uṣaybi'a.² Acting on the instructions of the Vizier, Sinān b. Thābit despatched into the rural districts a number of physicians, who were well provided with medicaments. They went from place to place, staying in each village for a few days according to the requirements of the locality.

Even the needs of prisoners and criminals were not forgotten. The same Vizier once wrote to Sinān b. Thābit: "May God prolong your life! I have bethought myself of the condition of prisoners. Want of adequate accommodation in the prisons and the large number of their inmates render the prisoners an easy prey to various kinds of disease. Since their incarceration prevents them from approaching physicians and receiving proper treatment at public hospitals in the usual way, you should appoint a number of physicians to visit the prisoners daily and treat such of them as happen to be ill."²

STATE CONTROL OF PHYSICIANS

SINĀN b. Thābit was a kind of inspector-general of hospitals and medical services in the reign of the Caliph al-Muqtadir. The name of this eminent doctor is also connected with the first qualifying examination of medical practitioners of which we read in the history of Arabian medicine. In 319 A.H., the Caliph came to know that the blunder of a quack had caused the death of an unfortunate patient. He thereupon issued an order to the Muhtasib that no one should practise in Baghdād until he was able to satisfy Sinān b. Thābit of his competence and proficiency, with the exception of a few physicians of recognized standing, who were exempted from this test on account of their reputation. The

1. Ibn-Abī 'Uṣaybi'a, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, I, p. 234.

2. Ibid., I, p. 22.

remainder who had to submit to the test numbered about eight hundred. Sinān b. Thābit indicated in each case the branch of medicine which the candidate was permitted to practise.¹

That the examination was not devoid of its humorous aspect is shown by the following anecdote, related by Ibn-al-Qiftī in his *Tārīkh al-Hukamā'*. Among the practitioners who presented themselves before Sinān was a dignified and well-dressed old man of imposing appearance. Sinān, accordingly, treated him with consideration and respect, and addressed to him various remarks on the cases before him. When the other candidates had been dismissed, he said, "I should like to hear from the Shaikh something which I may remember and that he should mention who was his teacher in the profession." The old gentleman replied, "I cannot read or write well, nor have I read anything systematically; but I have a family whom I maintain by my professional labours, which, therefore, I beg you not to interrupt." Sinān laughed and replied, "On condition that you do not treat any patient with what you know nothing about, and that you do not prescribe phlebotomy or any purgative drug save for simple ailments." "This," said the old man, "has been my practice all my life, nor have I ever ventured beyond sikangabīn (oxymel) and jullāb (jalap)." Next day amongst those who presented themselves before Sinān was a well-dressed young man of pleasing and intelligent appearance. "With whom did you study?" enquired Sinān. "With my father," answered the youth. And who is your father? asked Sinān. "The old gentleman who was with you yesterday," replied the other. "A fine old gentleman!" exclaimed Sinān; "and do you follow his methods? Yes? Then see to it that you do not go beyond them!"²

We read of a similar test of oculists, conducted by the royal physician Ibn-Abī Khalīfa at a later date. Nūr-ud-Dīn Zangī had entrusted him with the examination of oculists and charged him to grant permission to practise the art only to those who were proficient in it.

That some sort of State control was exercised as a matter of set policy by the government of the day over the dealings of druggists and pharmacists and the professional labours of physicians and surgeons in Islamic countries, is evident from the fact that almost all the manuals written for the guidance of the Muhtasib contain a number of chapters which give the duties of that official with respect to the medical practitioners and druggists, along with instructions regarding the ways and means of detecting their fraudulent practices. The latest manual of this kind to see the light of the day is the *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah fī Ahkām al-Hisbah* of Diyā-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, commonly known as Ibn-al-Ukhuvvāh, an Egyptian writer of the eighth century of the Hijra era. The Arabic text of this interesting book has been edited, along with a full abstract of its contents

1. *Tārīkh al-Hukamā'* of Ibn-al-Qiftī, ed. Lippert, pp. 191-92.

2. E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 40-41.

in English, by Dr. Reuben Levy for the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial (London, 1938); and a few paragraphs from this valuable source which illustrate the theme in hand are translated below :—

"The Muhtasib must exact the oath of Hippocrates¹ from all physicians, and make them swear that they will not give to any one a harmful medicament, or compound a poison for anyone, or describe poisons to any member of the public, or mention to women a medicament for procuring abortion, or to men one which will prevent procreation. They shall avert their glances from forbidden things, when they come into the sick; and they shall not reveal any secret, or bring anyone into disrepute, or concern themselves with anything which has been forbidden to them.²

"As for the oculists, they should be examined by the Muhtasib on the *Book of Hunayn b. Ishāq*, namely the "*Ten Discourses on the Eye*." Those whom he finds competent in the subjects of the examination—those, namely, who know the structure of the layers of the eye and their number (seven), and the number of the humours (three) and of the diseases of the eye (three), and the ramifications of these diseases; who know, further, how to compound the salves and are acquainted with the properties of drugs—these shall be licensed by the Muhtasib to undertake the treatment of eyes. The practitioner must not be negligent with respect to the instruments of his craft. And as for street oculists, no trust can be put in most of them, for there is no honesty in them. The Muhtasib should prevent them from onslaughts on the eyes of the people with incisions and application of *kuhl*, for they have no knowledge or experience of diseases and the ailments which occur.³

"Surgeons must have a knowledge of the *Book of Galen* on wounds and dressings, of the anatomy of the human body and of the muscles, veins, arteries and nerves it is made of, so that these may be avoided when incisions are made or abscesses opened. . . . No man shall undertake blood-letting, except he who is well-known for his science and honesty and for his sound knowledge of the anatomy of organs, veins, muscles, and arteries, and is acquainted with their disposition, so that the lancet may not strike any vein, muscle, or artery not intended, and so lead to the injury of the member and the death of the person who is bled. . . . The Muhtasib must exact a promise and a bond from them that they will not bleed, except after consultation with physicians, in cases where the patient is under

1. By enunciating certain principles of conduct to be followed by medical practitioners, Hippocrates (died about 370 B.C.) gave medicine its ethical basis. On the subject of the oath, see further W. H. S. Jones' *the Doctor's Oath: an Essay in the History of Medicine* (Cambridge, 1924).

2. *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah*, ed. R. Levy, (London, 1938), p. 167-68.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

14 years of age or is old, or suffers from extreme emaciation or anaemia or has an excessively cold temperament."¹

THE HOSPITAL OF 'AḌUD-AD-DAWLA

GOING back once again to Baghdād, we find that it was adorned a few decades later—in 370 A.H. to be exact—with another hospital, founded and endowed this time by 'Aḏud-ad-Dawla, the greatest and the most celebrated prince of the Buwayhid house, who had his seat of government at Shīrāz. He founded many hospitals throughout his realm; but he reserved the greatest measure of his princely munificence for the one established at Baghdād, which city, though shorn of much of its former political power and prestige, still retained its importance as the largest centre of Muslim culture. This hospital, which was fittingly named after its founder, was situated in the western part of Baghdād, right on the bank of the Tigris. It was well stocked with all kinds of necessary drugs and appliances. The royal founder had invited famous doctors from all over the country to work in this hospital. The panel comprised about two dozen specialists, including physicians, surgeons and oculists of wide experience and fame. The names of most of them have been preserved by some Arabic writers.² The hospital was so generously endowed, and the endowments were based upon such a sound and secure footing, that it was still found in a flourishing condition two hundred years later, by the Spanish-Arabian scholar and traveller, Ibn-Jubayr, who visited Baghdād in the second half of the 6th century of the Hijra era. He writes in his travel-book that the hospital of 'Aḏud-ad-Dawla was the largest and best-known hospital of the day, and that a whole quarter of Baghdād was known after it. The chief physicians visited the hospital twice a week, examined the patients, and prescribed suitable medicine and diet for them. They had a number of assistants, who were in charge of medicaments and the nursing of the sick. The building looked like a large palace, with several pavilions and a large number of rooms, provided with all kinds of comforts.³

There is no space here to describe all the other hospitals which came into existence at one time or another in the City of Peace. We may, however, gain a good idea of the facilities for medical aid which were available in the Baghdād of those days from what has been reported in this respect by the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, who passed through it in the second half of the 12th century after Christ. He writes that he found

1. *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah*, ed. R. Levy, pp. 159-160

2. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārikh al-Hukamā'*, ed. Lippert, pp. 235, 337, 438; Ibn-Abī 'Uṣaybi'a, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, I, pp. 244, 238, 310; Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1900), pp. 103-105.

3. Ibn-Jubayr, *Rihlah*, ed. De Goeje (Leyden, 1907), p. 225.

sixty hospitals there, all well provided from the king's stores with drugs and other necessities ; and that every patient who claimed assistance was fed at the king's expense, until his cure was completed.¹

OTHER HOSPITALS OF IRAQ AND SYRIA

ALTHOUGH we have not as yet mentioned all the hospitals that arose at Baghdād, we must leave the City of the Caliphs, and turn our attention to other centres of Muslim life. In Mesopotamia itself, we read of hospitals that were founded at Mawṣil, Raqqa, Harran and Mayyāfāriqīn ; but since our principal authorities, e.g., Ibn-Abī 'Uṣaybi'a and Ibn-Jubayr, do not give us any information concerning them beyond the fact of their existence or the circumstances in which they were founded, we must pass over them in silence.

Going towards the west into Syria and Palestine, we learn from our literary sources that hospitals existed at one time or another at Antioch, Aleppo, Emessa, Jerusalem and Safad—not to mention Damascus, the chief city of Syria, where as we have already seen, the Caliph Walid had founded the first infirmary in Islam. With the decline of the 'Abbasids of Baghdād, when many provincial towns came into prominence as centres of independent or semi-independent dynasties, Damascus also regained some of its old importance and prosperity as the seat or annex of many ruling houses that followed each other in rather rapid succession. We learn of several hospitals that added to the glory of Damascus ; but I shall confine myself here to a brief description of the best-known of them—I mean the Nūrī Hospital (مارستان نوري), founded by Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn ibn-Zangī.

THE NŪRĪ HOSPITAL OF DAMASCUS

KING Nūr-ud-Dīn, who ruled over Syria in the second half of the 6th century of the Hījra era, had no jewels to give to his favourite Sultāna ; but he had a scimitar, which kept at bay the crusading armies of half Europe. In the course of warfare, he once vanquished and took prisoner a prince of Europe, who according to the custom of the day was held to ransom. The Christian prince bought his freedom with a large sum of money ; but he died on the way before he reached his native land. The gallant Sultān disdained to touch the money ; and decided to utilize it in founding a hospital.² Ibn-Jubayr, who visited it thirty years after its foundation, says that it was well provided in every respect, and its daily

1. Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (1160-1173 A.C.) travelled extensively in the second half of the 12th century, visited Egypt and Syria, and penetrated as far east as Baghdād. An English version of his travel-book is published in Bohn's Library.

2. Ibn-Abī, Uṣaybi'a, *Tabaqāt al-Aṣṣibā'*, Vol. I, p. 190.

expenses amounted to a considerable sum of money. The warden kept a register, containing the names of the patients, and an account of the expenses incurred in connection with their food and medicaments. The physicians in-charge visited the hospital fairly early in the morning, examined the patients, and prescribed diet and medicine as required in each case.¹

The famous historian, Ibn-Athīr, also had occasion to visit and receive treatment at the Nūrī Hospital. "I am rich enough," he protested, "to pay for my drugs." The superintendent replied: "No doubt you can do without our medicines; but here nobody despises Nūr-ud-Dīn's bounty. In the name of God, I assure you that Sultān Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn's sons and their whole families send here for medicines and never pay." Khalīl ibn-Shāhīn az-Zāhirī, who wrote a valuable account of Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz under the Mamlūk Sultāns, has also referred to this hospital in connection with his visit to Damascus in 831 A.H. He visited the hospital 270 years after its foundation; and relates an amusing anecdote, which illustrates in a delightful manner the lavish scale on which this charitable institution was managed. Ibn-Shāhīn was accompanied by a distinguished and amiable Persian gentleman, a man of wit and intelligence. When he went over the hospital, and saw the patients' diet and the comforts provided for them, he felt tempted to give them a trial himself. He accordingly pretended to be ill, and actually got admitted into the hospital. When the consulting physician felt his pulse, he found nothing wrong with him. He, however, had enough humour to fall into the spirit of the joke, and prescribed for the shamming patient pleasant and fragrant sherbets as medicine, and chicken, savoury cakes, fruits and other delicacies for his diet. When three days were over, the physician wrote down in place of the usual prescription that "hospitality is for three days." The Persian gentleman took the polite hint, and, having enjoyed the cuisine and comforts of the Nūrī Hospital for three days, discreetly took his leave.

THE HOSPITAL OF AḤMAD IBN ṬŪLŪN

AḤMAD b. Ṭulūn, the founder of the Ṭulunid dynasty, is unanimously credited by Arabic historians with the foundation of the first hospital to be constructed in Egypt (at Fustāt) under the Muslim rule. The date of its foundation is variously given as 259 or 261 A.H. Its cost amounted to 60,000 dinars; and the income of several valuable properties was set aside for its maintenance. Two baths were also attached to the hospital, one for men and the other for women. As regards the arrangements made for the reception and care of the patients, the following points are worthy of note. When a patient was admitted, his clothes were taken off and special hospital garments were given him to wear. If he had any money,

1. Ibn-Jubayr, *Rihlah*, ed. De Goeje, p. 283.

it was deposited with the bursar of the hospital. He was provided with a bed; and treated with suitable medicines and diet according to the directions of the physician-in-charge. When he was able to eat bread and chicken, he was considered to be cured of his disease, his clothes and money were returned to him, and he was discharged. Ibn-Ṭūlūn rode to the hospital every Friday, inspected the hospital stores, and visited the sick.¹ As Ibn-Ṭūlūn was a despotic ruler of harsh and vindictive character, the foundation of a hospital by him did not excite universal enthusiasm among his subjects. Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd composed some bitterly satirical verses on the occasion, which have been preserved by the Egyptian historian Abū-'Umar Muḥammad al-Kindī in his *History of the Governor and Judges of Egypt*.²

THE MANṢŪRĪ HOSPITAL OF CAIRO

THE Hospital of Ibn-Ṭūlūn was easily surpassed by the Manṣūrī Hospital, built in Cairo four centuries later by the Mamlūk Sultān Manṣūr Qalāwūn, in the richness of its endowment as well as the splendour of its equipment. We owe a fairly detailed account of it to the scholarly labours of the Egyptian historian, al-Maqrīzī, who has described it, along with four other hospitals which existed in different periods in Cairo, in his well-known work, *al-Khitāṭ wa'l-Āthār*, which is a topographical description of Egypt. We are told that Amīr Manṣūr Jilafān was detained at Damascus during a campaign, not by an onslaught of the enemy but by an attack of colic. The physicians treated him with medicaments from the Nūrī Hospital, which he visited on his recovery. He greatly marvelled at what he saw, and took a vow that he too would build a hospital, if God ever raised him to the position of a king. After seven years, in the summer of 1283 A.D., he was in a position to fulfil his vow. The house and grounds of a high-born widow, Quthbiyya by name, appealed to him as a suitable site for his projected hospital in Cairo. The Arabic historian relates that the Sultān Manṣūr Qalāwūn accordingly sent his trusted servant, Ḥusām, to carry on negotiations for the purchase, knowing that through his wisdom the matter would soon be satisfactorily settled. These are the words of al-Maqrīzī, who is discreetly silent as to what would have happened if the noble lady had been unwilling to part with her property. She received a sum of money and the Emerald Castle in exchange, and also consented to move without delay; for she is reported to have overlooked certain things, such as a large number of female slaves and costly treasures including a remarkable ruby; while from the courtyard of her palatial house they dug up a sealed pitcher filled with gold and pearls. The

1. For an account of the Ṭūlūniq Hospital, see al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Khitāṭ*, Vol. II, p. 405; brief references in Ibn-Taghrī Bardī, *an-Nujūm az-Zāhirah*, ed. Juynboll, Vol. II, p. 11; Abū-'Umar al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-'Umarā* (Gibb Mem. Ser.), pp. 216-17; and al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣhā*, III, 337.

2. Abū-'Umar Muḥammad al-Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, Arabic text, ed. R. Guest (Gibb Memorial Series), Leyden & London, 1912, pp. 216-17.

Arabic historian is too discreet to suggest that the lady was in fact evicted forcibly and hurriedly; but he admits that the value of what she left behind her was quite as much as the cost of the hospital. There have been many Manšūrs in Arabian history; but this Egyptian Manšūr is particularly memorable for showing would-be benefactors of humanity how to erect a great hospital without incurring any expenditure at all.

Manšūr was as arbitrary with the builders of the hospital as he had been with the noble lady, Qutbiyya, in acquiring the site for it. He brought 300 prisoners to the spot, and also acquisitioned the services of all the masons in the city, with the result that all building operations in the rest of the Capital were completely at a standstill. Whoever passed and looked at the projected hospital was forced to help: proud soldiers and high officials were dismounted and compelled to pick up a stone and carry it to its destination; the Sultān himself rode every day to inspect the rising structure; and his people saw him polishing stones. In less than a year, the Manšūri hospital was ready, supplemented by an academy and a library. Manšūr did not forget the spiritual needs of his subjects, for he also added a mosque to the hospital, where the Qur'ān was recited by expert readers day and night, and a professor of theology lectured on the Traditions of the Prophet. Although the Mu'adhdhin called the faithful to prayer, yet the orthodox did not come. They remembered the eviction of Qutbiyya and the compulsory labour employed. They whispered that the hospital was founded on injustice, and preferred to worship Allāh elsewhere. But the sick could not afford to be so scrupulous as the general public. When they heard of the comfortable beds of the royal hospital and of the appetising foods and syrups that were prepared in its kitchens, they flocked to it in large numbers. Neither the number of patients nor the length of their stay was limited. There were drugs and physicians for all possible diseases, and separate wards for cases of fever, ophthalmia, and dysentery, and for the wounded. There were separate sections for convalescent men and women, whose wants were looked after by male and female attendants. Even an outpatient department was not lacking; and invalids confined at home were supplied with necessary medicines. So well endowed was this hospital that the poorest were readily admitted, and on leaving received funds which made it unnecessary for them to work until they were completely restored to health and strength.¹

THE HOSPITAL OF ABŪ-YŪSUF YA'QŪB AT MARRAKUSH

EVEN the extreme west of the Islamic world did not remain without its hospitals. In his *History of the Maghrib*, 'Abdul-Wāhid al-Marrākushī

1. Maqrizī, *al-Khitāṭ wal-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1270 A.H.), Vol. II, 406-8.

The readers will be interested to read further accounts of hospitals (such as Bimāristān of Kāfūr al-Akḥabīd, Bimāristān of Sultān Ṣālahuddīn) and their organisations in Dr. Ahmed 'Isā Bey's article on *Muslim Hospitals*, published in the Egyptian Magazine *Al-Ma'rifa* during the years 1931-33.—Ed., I.C

writes about Amīr ul-Mu'minīn Abū-Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, the fourth ruler of the Almohade dynasty, who reigned from 580 to 595 A.H. that he "built in the city of Marrākush a hospital, the like of which, I think, does not exist in the world. He selected for the purpose a large open site in the best part of the town, and ordered the architects to execute the work in the best possible manner. Accordingly, they embellished it with beautiful designs and other adornments. He also ordered that all kinds of fragrant and edible plants should be planted in it; and brought to it numerous channels of water, which circulated in all the rooms, in addition to four cisterns built in the centre of the hospital, one of them being of white marble. The rooms were furnished with luxurious beds, covered with woollen cloth, linen, silk, leather, etc., which defy description. The Amīr donated to the institution a daily allowance of 30 gold pieces for victuals, in addition to the drugs supplied. He also appointed pharmacists to prepare various kinds of syrups, ointments, and collyrium. The patients were provided with day and night clothing, according to the requirements of hot and cold weather. If a patient happened to be indigent, he was given a sum of money on being discharged, so that he might live upon it till he got some employment. The hospital was open to the poor and the rich alike. Any stranger who happened to fall ill while in Marrākush was taken to the hospital and treated, till he recovered his health or died. After the Friday prayers, the Amīr rode to the hospital, visited the sick and made inquiries from them about their state of health, the attention they received from the attendants, and other matters. He continued this practice till his death."¹

GENERAL FEATURES OF ARABIAN HOSPITALS

WE learn of many other hospitals that existed at one time or another in the lands of Islam; but they cannot be all described within the limits of a short article. I shall therefore content myself with pointing out certain features which seem to be more or less common to these institutions. We notice in the first place that not only was medical treatment free at these hospitals, but food and other necessities were also supplied gratis to the patients. Usually a number of rooms were set apart for those suffering from mental disorders or infectious diseases. There were also separate wards for female patients, who were looked after by attendants of their own sex. The patients were further separated according to the nature of their ailments. Each hospital had its own pharmacy, well supplied with all kinds of materia medica, in charge of a special official, called *Shaykh Ṣaydalānī* (شيخ صيدلاني) or the chief pharmacist. The director of the hospital was called *Ṣā'ūr al-Bimāristān* (ساعور البيمارستان), and

1. 'Abdul-Wāhid al-Marrākushī, *Kitāb al-Mu'jib fī Talkhīṣ al-Akhbār al-Maghrib*, ed. R. Dozy, 2nd edition (Leyden, 1881), pp. 209-10.

he was assisted by a number of specialists, such as physicians, surgeons, oculists, and bone-setters. There were also superintendents and administrators in charge of the various sections of the hospital, besides domestics to look after the sick and minister to their wants. Most of the hospitals had an outpatient department, where a physician sat on a divan during consultation hours and wrote out prescriptions for the patients, who obtained the prescribed medicines from the hospital pharmacy. In most hospitals, they were given special hospital-clothes to wear in place of their own clothing, which was returned to them on their being discharged. In some hospitals, silver-voiced Qur'ān-readers were appointed to read the Qur'ān, so as to soothe the irritated nerves of the patients, especially those suffering from mental disorders. This shows that the people of those times were perfectly aware of the value of music in psychical therapy. Most hospitals were also furnished with large or small collections of medical books.

It has to be further noted that hospitals were closely connected with the teaching of medicine. The chief physicians were generally surrounded by students, who received practical training under the eyes of their teachers and rendered assistance in hospital work. In some hospitals there were separate rooms for lectures on the theory of medicine. Independent medical schools, called *Madāris at-Tibb*, also existed; but their number does not seem to have been large. The teaching of medicine was carried on mostly in connection with hospitals under individual physicians and surgeons, who were distinguished for their experience as well as for the theoretical knowledge of their science. Students who followed the course of instruction successfully were granted diplomas (*ijāzah*) by their teachers.

In properly managed hospitals, an excellent opportunity existed for the promotion of nosological and therapeutical knowledge. That this opportunity was not lost is shown by the frequent references to the registers or records which were kept of interesting clinical observations. Although the fresh clinical results seem to be meagre in proportion to the number of Arabic medical writers and institutions, yet the advance which the Arabs undoubtedly made upon the Greek tradition in certain branches of pathology and therapy was to a considerable extent due to the practical experience gained in their hospitals. The greatest progress was in this way made in the symptomatology of skin, nervine, and venereal diseases, in epidemiology and in the treatment of eye-diseases in particular.¹

The scientific value of the hospitals in Islamic countries becomes all the more remarkable when we compare them with similar institutions in the contemporary Byzantine empire. In the words of Professor Neuburger "under the Byzantine regime, hospitals remained sterile for scientific research, because the physicians were not afforded proper scope in them

1. Cf. Prof. Dr. Max Neuburger, *Geschichte der Medizin*, II Band, Erster Teil (Stuttgart, 1911), S. 194.

for the exercise of their talents, and, instead of the scientific spirit, bigotry, superstition, and dilettantism held sway over them."¹

Mediaeval Europe obtained its knowledge of the medical sciences from the Islamic world, mainly through the numerous translations from Greco-Arabic literature which continued to be made well into the sixteenth century. This process of assimilation was further accelerated by the establishment of the medical schools of Salerno, Montpellier, and Paris, where courses of study were almost entirely based on the works of Arabic medical writers. It was at Salerno near Naples that Constantine the African, a christianised Arab from Tunisia (d. 1087), spent several decades of his life preparing Latin versions of Arabic medical works. In view of these well-known corroborative historical facts, it seems probable that the foundation of hospitals throughout Europe during the thirteenth century was likewise due to the European contact with Arabic countries, especially during the Crusades. The asylum and hospital 'Les Quinze-Vingt,' for instance, was founded in Paris by King Louis IX after his return from his unsuccessful Crusade in 1254-60; and, as Dr. Meyerhof has opined, the hospitals of Mediaeval Europe may well have been imitations of such splendidly installed Bīmāristāns as that of Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn in Damascus and that of the Mamlūk Sultān al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn in Cairo.²

SH. INAYATULLAH.

1. [In byzantinischer Zeit] Krankenhäuser . . . für die Forschung sterile Stätten blieben, weil den Aerzten in ihren Mauren nicht der gebührende Wirkungskreis eingeräumt war und statt des wissenschaftlichen Betriebs die Bigotterie, der Aberglaube und der dilettanismus das Szepter führten. [M. Neuburger in his *Geschichte der Medizin*, Vol. II, pt. i (Stuttgart, 1911), p. 103]. It has to be remembered in this connection that hospitals in Mediaeval Europe were partly under clerical supervision.

2. Cf. Max Meyerhof in *the Legacy of Islam*, (Oxford, 1931), p. 349.



FIGURE I Portrait of Murad III at prayer

A RARE OTTOMAN MANUSCRIPT WITH TWO CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS OF MURĀD III

THE National Library of Scotland possesses a few miscellaneous oriental manuscripts catalogued by the authors of the Edinburgh University collection. This handlist has never been published. There are in Scotland two other as yet unknown collections of oriental MSS. which have not been properly catalogued, one at St. Andrews, and another at Aberdeen. I am informed that the collection at St. Andrews is fairly large and would repay examination, while the MSS. at Aberdeen number about twenty volumes.

The subject of this article is a fine Ottoman manuscript (No. 18.7.3.) in the National Library, containing two miniatures. The Arabic colophon in gold (fol. 33a) gives the following particulars : " At the most auspicious times, I composed this treatise which is named *Djāmi' al-Kamālāt* (the Sum of Perfections), in the month of Šafar al-Muzaffar of the year 992 A.H. (1584 A.D.) at Constantinople. May it be preserved from harm." Below this a rather ambiguous line adds, " And I am the Faqīr 'Alī, the servant of the people." The catalogue description runs as follows :

" Fol. 32, i, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. Fifteen lines to the page, each $2\frac{1}{2}$ ' long,¹ and written in good nasta'liq on pink-tinted polished paper with borders left uncoloured ; gold ornaments and gold-lined round the columns ; frontispiece ('unwān) illuminated with gold, illustrated with two portraits (fol. 7b. and fol. 28a) ; bound in gilt-stamped leather. A short treatise intended for the guidance of kings. It was compiled in A.H. 992/A.D. 1584 according to a chronogram, during the reign of Sultān Murād III, upon whom numerous praises are lavished. It is divided into twelve faṣls or chapters, each treating of the virtues of kings. The *Djāmi' al-Kamālāt* is followed by a short treatise on the beauties of Aleppo, probably by the same author or scribe, dated A.H. 999/A.D. 1590."

1. Dr. R. B. Serjeant along with his article has kindly sent actual size photographs which show that the size of the MS. and the length of the lines are in inches.—Ed., I.C.

From the wording of the colophon and the general appearance of the manuscript itself, I think we can fairly safely assume that the dates of the composition and transcription of this manuscript lie within a few years of each other, if indeed this is not the autograph, and perhaps the only copy of the work.

According to Charles Rieu in his preface to the *Catalogue of Turkish MSS. in the British Museum* (p. xi), "it is a matter of experience that illuminated Turkish MSS. are extremely rare. . ." While illustrated Turkish MSS. will probably be found more numerous than Rieu supposed at that time, it is well to remember that the British Museum then had only eleven illustrated MSS. and the Bodleian only two. The University of Stamboul has some copiously illustrated MSS., but as in the case of the British Museum and the Bodleian few are earlier in date than the *Djāmi' al-Kamālāt*. The two paintings illustrated in this article belong to the school of early Turkish painting at Constantinople which was based upon, and followed, the Persian tradition. They show no trace of the western influence of Gentile Bellini, who visited Constantinople in 1480 to paint the Ottoman Sultān. Apart from certain details of costume, it is often difficult, at first sight, to say whether portraits such as these are Persian or Turkish. There is however a certain stiffness and rigidity in Turkish painting that distinguishes it from the more flexible compositions of the Persians; this is especially true of figure i.

Composed in the Ottoman capital, probably for the court, certainly for a wealthy patron able to pay for the costly painting and fine calligraphy,¹ and being fulsomely interlarded with compliments to Murād III, one naturally assumes the pictures are portraits of the monarch. Portraits of Murād III are reproduced in the catalogue of Stamboul University from a contemporary manuscript of the *Shāhinshāh-Nāmah* or *Shamā'il-Nāmah* of 'Alā'-ad-Dīn Manṣūr-i Shīrāzī. One shows the monarch on horseback at a revue in honour of Shāh Tahmāsp, and a second shows him at the fall of Kars to the Turks. These paintings belong to the Constantinople school and are of about the same date as the *Djāmi' al-Kamālāt*. The portraits of Murād, especially the equestrian one, correspond very closely to those illustrated here; they must therefore be based on a common model, if not taken from life.

In disposition Murād III was far less harsh than his predecessors, and at the time of composition of the *Djāmi' al-Kamālāt* he was in the prime of life, being only in his thirty-eighth year. These traits accord well with the character of the person we see in the Edinburgh portraits. The composition of the equestrian portraits in both the Edinburgh and Stamboul MSS. are conventional in composition, closely resembling those of Sulaimān Khān and Murād's immediate predecessor, Salīm, both in the Bibliothèque Nationale, reproduced by Blochet in his *Musulman Painting*. The drawing

1. Fig IV shows that calligraphy is of an ordinary type.



FIGURE II—Portrait of Murad III, riding
(Fol 28a) *Actual size*



FIGURE III.—Italian Portrait reputed to be of Murād III, holding an audience
(Actual size).

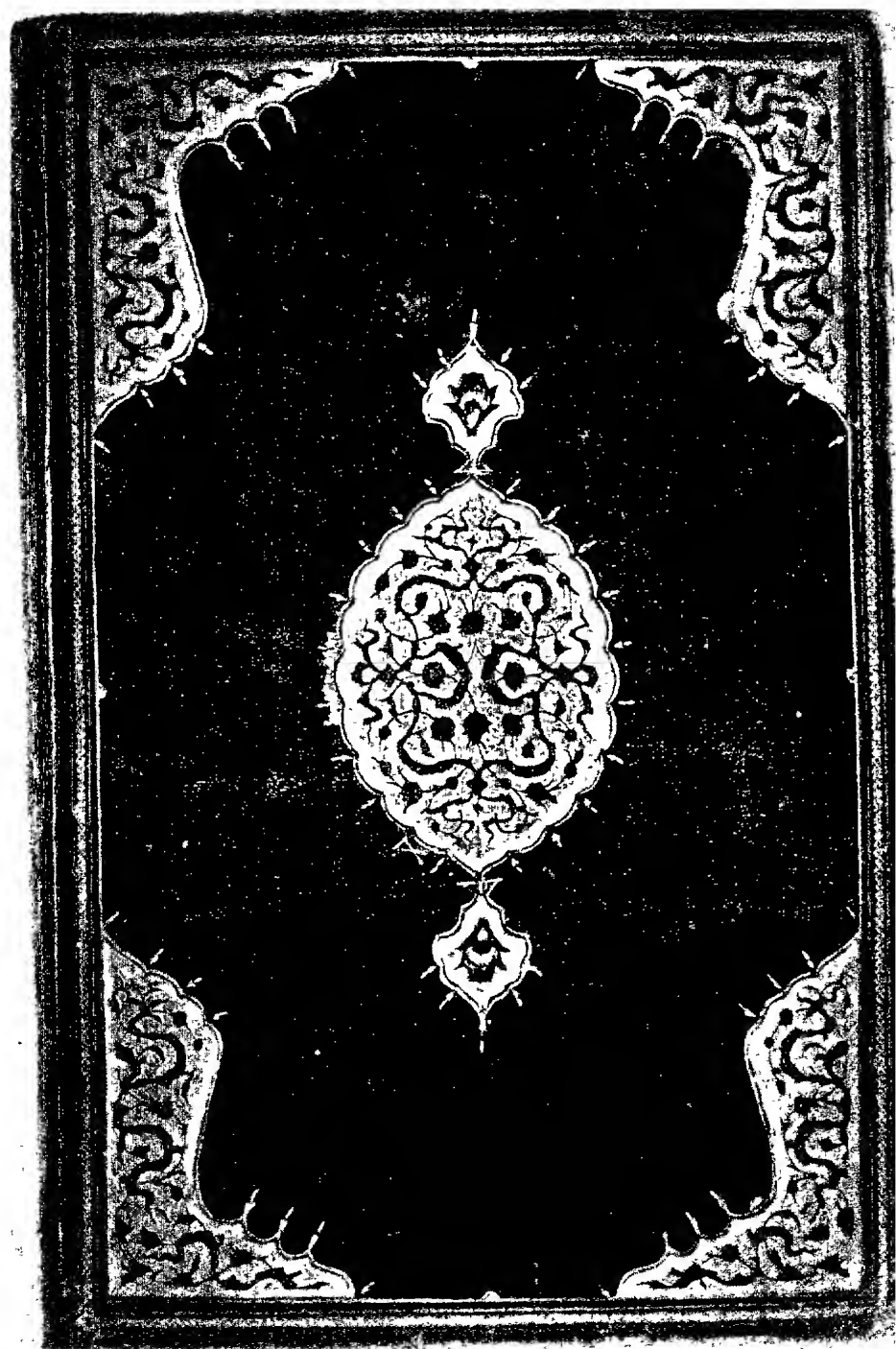
of the horse, its furniture and trappings, even the seat of the Sultān in the saddle, hardly differ in any respect.

The first portrait (fig. i) represents Murād, robed in green and white, performing the prayer on a carpet. To the right foreground is the favourite, perhaps one of his sons, a youth of pleasant mien. On the left stand two Janissaries wearing the red and gold cap, the identical uniform to be seen in the picture of the siege of Belgrade (A.D. 1521), reproduced in Kühnel's *Islamische Miniaturmalerei* (pl. 96). The Janissaries are stiff and wooden-looking. In front are two golden candlesticks of a well-known type, the candles burning brightly; to the right an embroidered leather cushion with books, a pair of scissors and an inkpot. The room is decorated with tilework picked out in gold—the photographs do not do justice to the fineness of the detail and exquisiteness of the colours. By oversight, the painter, who, as is well known, was sometimes a different person from the draughtsman, has continued the paintings of the tilework over the right arm of the favourite. The costume of both Sultān and favourite is of simple silk cloth, gold-embroidered with a repeat-motive (cf. the coat published by Reath and Sachs in *Persian Textiles*, p. 13).

The second portrait (figure ii) shows the Sultān resplendent in orange coat and blue trousers with gold embroidery, riding out with the favourite and the two Janissaries of the first picture. A farrāsh wearing a hat after the Mongol style, presumably a Tatar slave (perhaps the eunuch Ghāzānfer Aghā (?), for many Turkish court miniatures are full of actual portraits), collects complaints and petitions from the common people, thus typifying Murād as a just prince. The sky is golden, and the brook in the foreground silver, now turned purple-black with age; the usual perspective convention of a mountainous background with trees is observed.

By way of comparison, a portrait supposed to be of Murād III, is reproduced here (fig. iii) from an album in the Bodleian (MS. Bodl. Or., 430), containing pictures of Turkish and Italian subjects. I have not had an opportunity of examining this portrait, but it is described as richly illuminated in gold. The Sultān was much under the influence of his wife Şafiyah, a member of the noble family of Baffā—her father had been governor of the island of Corfu. It may have been under her patronage that the western artist who painted this portrait was admitted to the royal presence.

The opening folio of the manuscript (of which one of the pages is misplaced, fol. 16a should be 2a) is ornamented with the conventional title-piece in blue and gold (fig. iv), but the margin is covered by an interlacing design of gold lines with a thin wash of gold between, and dark crimson touches, a pattern reminiscent of the so-called Rhodes ware (cf. No. 2 of *A Picture-Book of Turkish Pottery*, Victoria & Albert Museum). The binding (fig. v) is probably nearly contemporary, certainly Turkish, for Sarre illustrates a 17th century example of similar design



LAHORE

(Being an Account of Lahore Compiled from Original Sources)

NAME AND DATE OF FOUNDATION

THE early history of Lahore is enveloped in a mist of traditions, conjectures, and guesses, and it must be frankly admitted that from the available sources of information it is not possible to arrive at any definite conclusions about the earliest name and the date of foundation of the city. Definite references to this town have been made only by the early Arab geographers and Muslim historians, and these, along with other references to Lahore of a later period, will be discussed here in their chronological order.

Al-Balādhurī (Aḥmad bin Yahyā), who lived at the court of Baghdād towards the middle of the ninth century of the Christian era, during the *Khilāfat* of the 'Abbāsi Khalifa Mu'tamid (256 A.H./870 A.D.—279 A.H./892 A.D.)¹ and died in 279 A.H./892 A.D.,² is one of the earliest Arab chroniclers, and he gives an account of the first conquests of the Arabs in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Iran, Armenia, Trans-Oxonia, Africa, Spain, and Sindh, in his famous book, *Futūḥul Buldān*. He calls Lahore by the name of al-Āhvār.

ثم غزا ذلك الثغر المهلب ابن أبي صفرة في أيام معاوية سنة م فاتى بنة والاھوار وھا بين الملتان
وڪابل ۳

Then al-Muhallab son of Abū-Ṣufrah raided this frontier in the days of Mu'āviyah in the year 44. He reached Bannah (Bannū) and al-Āhvār, which lie between Multan and Kabul.⁴

After al-Balādhurī we find Lahore mentioned in a geographical treatise, entitled *Hudūdul 'Ālam*, which was compiled in 372 A.H./982 A.D. The author of this work is not known but this is what he remarks about Lahore :

لھور شھرست با ناحيت بسيار و سلطانش از دست امير ملتانت و اندرو بازارھا و بت خانھاست
و اندرو درخت چلغوزھ و بادام و جوزھندی بسيارست و ھمھ بت پرستند و اندرو ھيچ مسلمان نيست ۵

1. Lane-Poole, S., *The Mohammadan Dynasties* (Paris, 1925), p. 12.

2. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I.

3. Al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yahyā, *Futūḥ-ul-Buldān* (Cairo, 1901), p. 438.

4. Cf. Latif, Sayyad Muḥammad, *Lahore* (Lahore, 1892), p. 2 and Murgotten, *The Origin of the Islamic State*, p. 210.

5. *Hudūdul 'Ālam* (Tehran, 1352 A.H.), p. 44.

Lahor is a town with numerous districts. Its government (*sultān*) is on behalf of the chief (*amīr*) of Multan. In it there are markets and idol-temples. In it great numbers of pine-trees, almond-trees, and coconut trees are found. All the inhabitants are idolaters and there are no Muslims there.¹

Abū-Raiḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, who resided in India and speaks from personal knowledge of the country at the time of Maḥmūd's invasions at the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian era, in his celebrated work *Tārīkhul Hind*, mentions Lahore, not as a city, but as a territory of which the capital was Mandahūkūr :

ثم فيما بين المغرب والشال الى آدت هور تسعة الى جنير ستة الى مندهو كور قصبة لوهاور على شرق
نهر ايراهو ثمانية . 2

Thence marching towards the north-west, you come to Adittahaur, 9 (*farsakh*) ; Jajjanīr, 6 (*farsakh*) ; Mandahūkūr, the capital of Lauhāvar, east of the river Irāva, 8 (*farsakh*).³

Again al-Bīrūnī in his description of the Himalayan mountains observes :

على اليسار يمتد في العارات الى القصبة وعلى اليمين الى قري متصلة على جنوب القصبة ويقضى الى
جبل كلارجك وهو كالقبة شبيه بجبل دنباوند لا يتسرعنه الثلج ويرى دائما من حدود دكا كيشر ولوهاور.

Marching on the left side of the river, you always pass cultivated ground and reach the capital ; marching on the right side, you pass through villages, one close to the other, south of the capital, and thence you reach the mountain Kulārjak, which is like a cupola, similar to the mountain Dunbāvand. The snow there never melts. It is always visible from the region of Tākīsher and Lauhāvar.⁴

Shaikh Aḥmad Zanjānī, who, according to the statement of Kanhayyā La'ī,⁵ wrote his treatise, *Tuhfatul Vāṣilīn*, in 435 A.H./1043 A.D., is supposed to have remarked :

1. Vide Minorsky, V., *Hudūdul 'Ālam* (London, 1937), pp. 89 and 90.

2. Al-Bīrūnī, Abū-Raiḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Tārīkhul Hind* (London, 1887), p. 101.

3. Vide Sachau, Edward C., *Alberuni's India* (London, 1888), Vol. I, p. 206.

4. Vide Sachau, Edward C., *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, pp. 207 & 208.

5. Vide Kanhayyā La'ī, *Tārīkh-e-Lāhore* (Lahore, 1884), p. 9. Kanhayyā La'ī remarks :

شیخ احمد زنجانی صاحب رسالۃ تحفة الواصلین جس نے وہ کتاب سنہ ۴۳۵ ہجری عہد سلطان مسعود غزو
بقام لاہور اس کے علماء و فضلاء کے حال میں لکھی ہے

"Shaikh Aḥmad Zanjānī, the author of the treatise, *Tuhfatul Vāṣilīn*, who wrote this work in Lahore about the learned people of this town, in the year 435 A.H. during the time of Sultān Mas'ūd of Ghazni"

The whole of this statement is not correct, because Mas'ūd I reigned from 421 A.H./1030 A.D. to 432 A.H./1040 A.D. So either the book was written in 432 A.H./1040 A.D. or it was written during the reign of Maudūd, the successor of Mas'ūd I. I have not been able to trace this work.

' This (Lahore) town was first of all founded by Rāja Parīchhit, who was a great Rāja from the descendants of Pāṇḍavas. After some time this town was depopulated on account of famines, etc., and was laid waste for many centuries. During the time of Rāja Bikramājī the town was ordered to be populated again and little progress had been made in this direction when Bikramājī died, and Samand Pāl Jōgī succeeded him. The town prospered during his reign and was named Samand Pāl Nagārī. The town continued to flourish for a long time. Afterwards, when Rāja Dīp Chand became the king of Delhi, he gave away the Panjab as a jāgir to his nephew, Lohār Chand, who, on acquiring perfect control over the whole of the Panjab, made it (Lahore) his capital. He tried to add to the prosperity of the town and discarding the name of Samand Pāl Nagārī named it Lohārpur, after his own name. This name during the course of time was corrupted into Lahore !'

Describing an expedition of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, in Kashmīr, Gardīzī, the author of *Zainul Akhbār*, observes in 440 A.H./1048 A.D. :

و چون سنه اثنی عشر واربعمائه اندر آمد قصد کشمیر کرد و حصار لوه رکوت را اندر پیچید و یکماه آنجا قیام کرد و از آنجه قلعه بغایت منیع و محکم بود نتوانست کشاد . و اندرین سال امیر نصر بن ناصرالدین رحمه الله فرمان یافته بود و امیر یوسف بن ناصرالدین رحمه الله با یمین الدوله رفته بود . و چون لوه رکوت کسادن ممکن نگشت از آن دره بیرون آمد برجانب لوه ور و تاکیش رفت .¹

In the year 412 he (Maḥmūd) attacked Kashmīr and besieged the fortress of Loharkot. He stayed there for one month, but as the fort was exceptionally high and strong he could not conquer it. In the same year Amīr Naṣr b. Nāṣiruddīn (May he rest in peace!) had died and Amīr Yūsuf b. Nāṣiruddīn (May he rest in peace!) was accompanying Yāmīnuddaulah (Maḥmūd). But as Loharkot could not be conquered he (Maḥmūd) came out of that pass and proceeded towards Lohūr and Tākīshar.

The same author names the province 'Lahore,' when he refers to the conferment of the viceroyalty of this province by Mas'ūd on his son Majdūd :

پس امیر مجدود بن مسعود را رحمها الله ولایت لاهور داد و قیل و علم داد و او را باحشم و حاشیت سوی لاهور بفرستاد و خود سوی غزنین آمد.²

Then he (Mas'ūd) gave the kingdom of Lahore to Amīr Majdūd b. Mas'ūd (May both of them rest in peace!) and conferred upon him the royal insignia (literally, drum and standard). He then sent him with retinue and attendants towards Lahore and himself returned to Ghaznīn.

Sayyid 'Alī Hajvīrī, a mystic saint and scholar of the eleventh century of the Christian era, who lived in Lahore for a considerable number of

1. Gardīzī, Abū-Sa'īd 'Abdul Hay b. aḍ-Ḍaḥāk b. Maḥmūd, *Zain-ul-Akhhār* (Berlin, 1928), p. 79.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

years and died here between 465 A.H./1072 A.D. and 469 A.H./1076 A.D., remarks in his book *Kashful Mahjūb* :

1. من اندر دیار هند در بلده لہانور کہ از مضافات ملتان است در میان ناجسان گرفتار شدہ بودم .

In the country of India I myself had become a captive among uncongenial folk in the town of Lahānor, which is a dependency of Multan.²

Abul Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusain Baihaqī,³ a famous Persian Historian of the eleventh century of the Christian era, who is the author of history of the *Ghaznavīs* in three volumes, writing in 450-51 A.H./1058-59 A.D. about the life of Mas'ūd, the son of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, in his book *Tārīkh-e-Baihaqī*, makes mention of Lahore along with the fort of Mandkakūr, a variation of the name of the place which is mentioned by al-Bīrūnī as the capital of the province of Lahore :

ونیمہ این ماہ (رمضان سن خمس وعشرین واربعمائہ) رسید از لہور کہ احمد نیالتگین با بسیار مردم آنجا آمد وقاضی شیراز وجملہ مصلحان در قلعه مندککور رفتند وپیوستہ جنگ است ونواحی میکنند وپیوستہ فساد است . امیر سخت اندیشمند شد کہ دل مشغول بود از سہ جانب بسبب ترکانان عراق وخوارزم ولہور بدین سبب کہ شرح کردم .⁴

In the middle of this month (Ramaḍān 425 A.H./July 1033 A.D.) letters were received from Lahor, stating that Aḥmad Niāltigin had arrived there with several men ; that Qāḍī Shīrāz, with all his counsellors had entered the fort of Mandkakūr ; that there was perpetual fighting ; and that the whole neighbourhood was in a state of turmoil and agitation. The Amir became thoughtful, because his mind was troubled from three different sources, viz., the Turkomāns of 'Irāq, Khwārazm, and Lahor, as I have already described.⁵

Abul Faraj Rūnī, a great poet, writing a Qaṣīda of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, a grandson of Maḥmūd, names the town or the province Lohāvar in 472 A.H./1079 A.D. :

کشید رایت منصور سوی لوهاور بطالعی کہ تولا کند بدو تویم⁶

He (Ibrāhīm) proceeded towards Lohāvar with victorious banners and with a fortune which was favoured by the stars.

1. Hajviri, Sayyid 'Ali, *Kashful-Mahjūb* (Panjab University Library Manuscript No. Pc. IV, 7b, f. 56b).

2. Vide Nicholson, Reynold A., *the Kashful-Mahjūb* (London, 1911), p. 91.

3. d. 470 A.H./1077 A.D., *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 592.

4. Baihaqī, *Tārīkh-e-Baihaqī* (Calcutta, 1862), p. 523.

5. Vide Elliot & Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians* (London, 1877), Vol. II p. 129.

6. Rūnī, *The Diwān* (Tehran, 1304 A.H.), p. 86.

Al-Idrīsī¹ (Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Muḥd.-b.-'Abdullāh-bin-Idrīs), one of the most eminent Arab geographers of Sibta, who composed his famous system of geography, *Nuzhatul Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāqul Afāq*,² which has been translated into Latin by several authors, names the town Lahāvar in his work :

The towns of India are numerous ; among them may be mentioned Māhmal, Kambāya, Sūbara, Asāval, Janāval, Sindān, Saimūr, Sandūr, Rūmala ; in the desert : Kahata, Aughasht, Nahrvara, and Lahāvar.:

Turning to early literary references we find that Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, a Panjabi poet, who flourished in the latter half of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century of the Christian era, and who probably died in 515 A.H./1121 A.D., refers in his *Dīwān* very often to Lahore, but almost always gives it a different name ; e.g., Lahāvūr, Lohāvūr, Lāvahur, Lovhūr, Lohūr, and Lahore. In a Qaṣida in praise of 'Alī, the favourite of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, he says :

درویشی و نیستی ز لوهور بر کند و بحضرت فرستاد⁴

Poverty and want drove me forth from Lohūr and sent me to the capital (Ghaznī).⁵

In another qaṣida he writes :

رسید عید و من از روی حور دلبر دور	چگونه باشم بی روی آن بهشتی حور
مرا که گوید کای دوست عید فرخ باد	نگار من به لاهور و من به نیشاپور
.....
چه یاد شهر لاهور و یارخویش کنم	نبود کس که شدا از شهر و یارخویش نفور
مرا به است بهر حالی و بهر وجهی	جال حضرت غزنی ز نسیر لوهاور ⁶

The festal time is come, and I am far from the face of that charming houri ;

How can I exist without the face of that houri of paradise ?

Who shall say to me, ' O friend, a happy festival to thee, '

When my sweetheart is at Lahāvūr while I am in Nīshāpūr ?

Why do I recall the city of Lahāvūr and my friends ?

Because no one can be indifferent to his friends and his native land.

Yet, in any case and in every way, to me

The beauty of the capital of Ghaznī is better than the city of Lohāvūr.⁷

1. d. 560 A.H./1166 A.D., *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 451.

2. Beale, T. W., *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1894), p. 175.

3. Vide Elliot & Dowson, I, 84.

4. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Dīwān* (Ed. 1296 A.H.), p. 49.

5. Vide Qazwīnī, Mīrā Muḥammad b. 'Abdul Wahhāb, *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 704.

6. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Dīwān*, p. 98.

7. Vide *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 706.

In another *Qaṣida* entirely addressed to Lahore, wherein he grieves and pines for the days passed in his native town, he says :

ای لاهور ویک بی من چگونہ ی آفتاب تابان و روشن چگونہ¹

O Lāohūr, well-a-way, how farest thou without me ?

How canst thou be bright without the luminous Sun ?²

In another poem, after complaining of his imprisonment, he makes the following request of some great man :

مخملی باید از خداوندم کہ ازو بوی لوهور آید

کہ همی ز آرزوی لوهاور جان و دل درتم همی ناید³

I want from my lord some velvet from which emanates the fragrance of Lovāhūr,

For, through longing for Lohāvar, heart and soul faint within me.⁴

In another passage, while complaining of the filth of his prison, and indicating the comfort which he enjoyed in his own country, he says :

گرما نہ سه داشتم بلاهور وین نزد همه کسی عیان است

امروز سه سال شد کہ سویم مانندہ موئی کاfran است⁵

I had three baths at Lahore, a fact patent to everyone ;

To-day it is three years since my hair became like the hair of the unbelievers.⁶

In another passage wherein, after describing his prison, he expresses his longing for his country, he says :

از زمانہ نکردہ ام گنہ تاکہ دانستہ ام کہ محبوب راست

مر مرا کہ کہ رنج کند همه ام یوبہ اهاور است⁷

I have not uttered one complaint against Fortune, since I know that she acts under compulsion :

The only thing which troubles me from time to time is my longing for Lahāvūr.⁸

1. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Diwān*, p. 200.

2. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 706.

3. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Diwān*, p. 255.

4. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 707.

5. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Diwān*, p. 251.

6. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 707.

7. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Diwān*, p. 24.

8. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 707.

And lastly in the following quatrain, also composed in prison, he thus speaks of his longing for his country :

دانی تو که بایند گرانم یارب دانی که ضعیف و ناتوانم یارب
شد در غم لوهور روانم یارب یارب که در آرزوی آمم یارب¹

Thou knowest that I lie in grievous bonds, O Lord !

Thou knowest that I am weak and feeble, O Lord !

My spirit goes out in longing for Lohūr, O Lord !

O Lord, how I crave for it, O Lord !²

Abul Hasan 'Alī b. Zaid Baihaqī, called ibn-e-Funduq, wrote a history of his native district of Baihaq in 563 A.H./1168 A.D.³ In this history, giving the details of the kingdom of the Ghaznavis, he remarks that Loh-āvūr was a province or region :

ملک ایشان از دیار خراسان و عراق منقطع گشت و باغزی اتحاد فی شهر سنه ثمان و عشرين
وار بپاىءه ، و از غزنین منقطع شده است و با دیار لوهاور و برشاوور و آن طرف افتاده از سنه خمس و
خمسین و خمسپاىءه .⁴

In the year 428 their dominions ceased in the countries of Khurāsān and 'Irāq and shifted to Ghaznī. And in the year 555 their dominions ceased in Ghaznī and shifted to the country of Lohāvūr and Barshāvūr (Peshawar).

Yāqūt b. 'Abdullāh, a famous Arab geographer, in his monumental work, *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān*, completed in 621 A.H./1224 A.D., mentions the name of the place as Lauhūr as well as Lahāvūr, and names the capital of the province Mandakūr :

لوهور بفتح اوله و سکون ثانیه والهاء واخره راء و المشهور من اسم هذا البلد لاهاور وهى مدينة
عظيمة مشهورة فی بلاد الهند .⁵

Lauhūr is generally known as Lanavūr. It is a big and well-known town in India.

مندکور بفتح ثم سکون و فتح الدال و سکون الکاف و همزة على واو و راء مدينة وهى قسبة
لوهور من نواحى الهند فی سمت غزنه .⁶

Mandakūr : It is a town, which is the capital of Lauhūr, a city of India, in the direction of Ghazna.

1. Mas'ūd b. Sa'd Salmān, *The Dīwān*, p. 293.

2. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 708.

3. *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 592.

4. Baihaqī, Abul Hasan 'Alī b. Zaid, *Tārīkh e Baihaq* (Tehran, 1317 *Khurshīdī*), p. 71.

5. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān* (Leipzig, 1886), Vol. IV, p. 371.

6. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān*, Vol. IV, p. 660.

Here is a traditional record of the history of the foundation of Lahore. Hitherto no author has traced the history of Lahore earlier than the times mentioned by Sharif-e-Muhammad b. Manṣūr, who wrote a treatise on the art of war, etc., in the time of Sultān Iltutmish (1210-1236). In his work entitled *Adābul Harb wash Shujā'a*, Sharif-e-Muhammad remarks :

و در تاریخ چنین آمده است که حج بن بهندرا که والی لوهور بودو بنای لوهور او نهاده است او بگذشت . پسری بود اورا بنرت نام مردی عادل . روزگاری آریسه داشت و آنجا در لوهور مسجد خشتی است بنخانه کرد . وصورتی ازسنگ فرمودتا بتراشیدند و آنرا آفتاب نام کرده بود ومذهب او آفتابپرستی بود وعمری دراز یافته بود نود و سه سال از انجمله هفتاد و پنج سال امیر لوهور بود .¹

It is related that Haj (Chach ?) b. Bhandrā, who was the ruler and founder of Lohūr, had died, and had a son named Banrat (?), who was a just person under whose benevolent administration the people enjoyed peace. In Lohūr he ordered a temple to be constructed on the site where now stands the brick mosque. He ordered an idol to be made of stone and named it "the Sun." He worshipped the Sun. He lived to the advanced age of 93 years and ruled Lohūr for seventy-five years.²

The famous Indian poet Amīr Khusrāw in his *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, compiled in 688 A.H./1289 A.D., names the town Lāohūr. Writing about the attack of the Mughals on the Panjab he says :

از قدم شوم مغل آن بلاد نام و نشان ز عارت نداد
از حد سامان و تا لاهور هیچ عارت نه مگر در قصور³

In that country not a sign of a building remained when the wretched steps of Mughals trod on it.

From the boundary of Sāmāna to Lāohūr every building was shaky (or, no building was left except in Qusūr).

The famous historian Rashīduddīn has only repeated the words of al-Bīrūnī in his *Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh* (828 A.H./1424 A.D.):

و سالک چون بر یسار آن برود ممتد بر عارات باقصبات بدیهائی چند که متصل اند بر جنوب قصبه ومغضی تابکوه لاریج که او مانند کوه دماوند است و میان او وصحرائی کشمیر دو فرسنگ است و دایما از حدود کشمیر و لها و ر آنرا توان دید .⁴

Whoever travels along the left bank (of the river) will find villages and towns which are close to one another on the south of the capital and as far as the mountain Lārjak, which resembles the mountain Damā-

1. Sharif-e-Muhammad b. Manṣūr, *Adābul-Harb-wash Shujā'a* (British Museum Manuscript Add. 16, 853) f. [This book is styled *Adābul-Mulūk wa Kifāyāt-ul Mamlūk* in Ethès Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the India Office Library (Column 1493), but I had access to the rotographs of the British Museum Manuscript].

2. Compare with the translation in the JRAS., 1927, p. 491.

3. Khusrāw, Amīr, *Qirān-us-Sa'dain* (Aligarh, 1918), p. 64.

4. Rashīduddīn, *Jāmi'-ut Tawārīkh* (Panjab University Library Manuscript, Pe I, 55), f. 662.

vand, between which and Kashmīr there is a distance of two farsangs. It can be seen from the boundaries of Kashmīr and Lohāvar.¹

And again :

پس آنچه میان شا، و مغرب است تا ادت هور نه و تا ججنیر شش، و تا مندهو کور قصبه لوهاور
بشت فرسنگ . . .² بر

In going north-west from the latter place (Sanām) to Ādittahaur, nine farsangs ; thence to Jajjanīr, six ; thence to Mandhūkūr, the capital of Lohāvar, on the east of the river Irāva, eight.....³

Haider Mirzā Dughlat, who conquered Kashmīr in the time of Humā-yūn (947 A.H./1540 A.D.) and later on became the king of that country, has fixed the position of Lahore in his famous work Tārīkh-e-Rashīdī, compiled in 1544-47 A.D. In the description of the position of mountains and plains of Tibet he remarks :

چنانچه عقبه بالاشدن از جانب یارکند ساجواست وعقبه فرود آمدن بر جانب کشمیر عقبه اشکار دو
است از آن تاباین عقبه بیست روزه راه باشد وهم چنین بر مغرب زمستان حقن بعضی از بلاد هند
واقع است چون لاهور و سلطان پور و با جواره.⁴

The pass ascending from Yārkan is the pass of Sānjū, and the pass descending on the side of Kashmīr is the pass of Ashkārdū. [From the Sānjū pass to the Ashkārdū pass] is twenty days' journey. In the direction of winter sunset from Khutan are some of the cities of Hind, such as Lahore, Sultānpur and Bājwāra.....⁵

Jamāluddīn Husain Injū, a grandee of Jahāngīr's time, furnishes us with useful information about the name of Lahore authenticated by verses of eminent Indian and Iranian poets. In his Persian dictionary called Farhang-e-Jahāngīrī, which he compiled in 1017 A.H./1608 A.D. and dedicated to the emperor Jahāngīr, he says :

لاهور و لاهور و لوهور و لوهاور و لاهوار و لاهانور نام شهر است ز ملک هندوستان که بلاهور
اشتهار دارد .

ابوالفرج رونی	بلاهور در آمد میان موکب خویش	بزینتی که بر آید شب چهارده ماه
امیر خسرو فرماید	از حد سامانه تا لاهور	هیچ عارت نیست مگر در قصور
از ابوالفرج رونی است	کشید رایت منصور سوی لوهاور	بطالعی که تولا کند بدو تقویم
حکیم ثنائی منظوم ساخته	ای بزرگان غزنه و لوهور	چشم بد زین زمانه بادا دور
شیخ نظامی راست	ندیم خاص بودش شاپور	جهان گشته ز مشرق تا لها نور ⁶

1. Vide Elliot and Dowson, I, 65.

2. Rashiduddin, Jāmi'-ut Tawārīkh, f. 661b.

3. Vide Elliot and Dowson, I, 62.

4. Dughlat, Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī (Panjab University Library Manuscript, A Pe I, 9a), f. 604.

5. Elias, N., and Ross, E. D., the Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī (London, 1895), p. 405.

6. Injū, Farhang-e-Jahāngīrī (P.U.L. MS.), Vol. II, f. 75 b.

Lāohūr, Lānhor, Lohāvar, Lohūr, Lahāvar, Lahāvār, and Lahānūr are the (different) names of a town of India, which is known as Lahore. (The translation of the verses is omitted as most of them have been already translated).

This is a pure and authentic history, recorded as it is, about the name and date of foundation of Lahore. I have reproduced it word by word. Looking back into this faithful record the following inferences can be drawn :

(i) The earliest definite reference to Lahore is made by al-Balādhurī, the Arab chronicler, in the latter half of the ninth century of the Christian era, in his *Futūḥul-Buldān*, wherein the town is named Alahvār. Lahore is not mentioned by any other traveller, geographer, or historian earlier than this.

(ii) Lahore has been differently named by different authors ; one author has even named it in several ways. The following are the different variants employed by chroniclers, historians, and geographers :

الاهور	Alahvār ;
لهور	Lahor, Lahūr or Lahore ;
لوهاور	Lauhāvar, Lūhāvar or Lohāvar ;
لوهور	Lohūr, Lohor, Lauhor or Lauhūr ;
لهانور	Lahānor, Lahānūr or Lahānaur ;
لوهāvūr	Lohāvūr ;
لهāvūr	Lahāvūr ;
لاهور	Lāohūr ;
لاهāvār	Lohāvar ;
لānhor	Lānhor ;
لهāvār	Lahāvār ;
لاهore	Lahore.

Why these twelve variants are used is not known. There is another notable thing about the names : one and the same name is used by different authors at different times, so no one name is older than another, and there is no chronological order in the use of the names.

(iii) The town (or fort) of Mandahukūr (Mandkakūr or Mandakūr) is mentioned as the capital of the province of Lahore, and as a separate town from that of Lahore.

Obviously when a region or country is named Lahore, the writer means the province of the Panjab of those days, which had its capital at Mandakūr.

Mandakūr, or any of its variants, is not traceable in these days. Amongst western orientalists and historians Thomas is the first person to identify this city with Lahore, suggesting that it is a corrupt form of

Maḥmūdpur.¹ This is the basis of his conclusions. Some coins struck at Maḥmūdpur by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī are preserved in the British and Lahore Museums. I have personally examined all the coins preserved in the Lahore Museum. None of them bears a date, but the cataloguer, taking a hint from the cataloguer of coins of the British Museum,² has also included dates in the transcription of the legends of the coins, and this is how he has reproduced the legend³ from one of the coins :

Obverse		Reverse
अव्यक्तमेक	ॐ	القادر
मुहम्मद अ		لا اله الا الله
वतार (नृप) ⁴		محمد رسول الله
(ति) ⁴ महमूद		يمين الدولة
Margin :		وامين الملة
अयं टंकं महमूदपुर घटे(त) ⁴ (ता) ⁴		محمود
जिकीयेर संवती ४१९		Margin : بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمحمود پورسنه
		تسع عشره واربعة مايه

This is a silver bilingual coin which bears a Sanskrit inscription (*Abyaktameka, Muḥammad Avatār, Nripati Maḥmūd*. Margin : (*Āyam ṭaṅkam Maḥmūdpur ghatet Tājikiyera Samvatī 419*) on the obverse, and an Arabic inscription in Kufic letters on the reverse. The Kufic dies for these coins seem to have been entrusted to first-class artists, for they are always excellently fashioned and correctly marked in the details ; whereas the legends on Sanskrit face of the coins vary considerably in their execution, and the orthography and the forms of the characters themselves are crude. The Arabic inscription rendered into English reads thus : Alqādir Billah ; there is no god but God, Muḥammad is the Prophet of God ; Yamīnuddaulah, Amīnul Millat Maḥmūd. Margin : Begin in the name of God. This dirham was struck at Maḥmūdpur in 419.

The Sanskrit inscription means :

The Invisible (is) One Muḥammad incarnation King Maḥmūd.

Margin : This ṭaṅkam (was) struck at Maḥmūdpur, (in) the Arabic Samvat 419.

Thomas happened to see some similar coins struck by Maḥmūd and without either rhyme or reason jumped to the conclusion that Maḥmūdpur, a corruption of Mandakūr, was the name of Lahore, where these coins were struck in 419 A.H./1028 A.D., that is about three years before the death of Maḥmūd. Talking about ṭanka in his *Chronicles of the Pathan*

1. Cf. Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India* (Calcutta, 1924), p. 228 and Thomas, Edward, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* (London, 1871), p. 47.

2. *British Museum Catalogue of Coins*, Vol. II, No. 510, p. 151.

3. Rodgers, C. J., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Government Museum, Lahore*, (Calcutta, 1891), p. 27.

4. These letters have not been deciphered by Rodgers, the cataloguer, but they are there.

Kings of Delhi, he remarks : " Moreover, it may be seen how distinctly the tankah was the accepted and recognised term in India by the fact that the great Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, while continuing to make use of the ordinary mint designation of dirham, in the Kufic legend of his new Lāhor coinage of 'Maḥmūdpur' admits the corresponding word ṭaka (or ṭaka tanka) in the Sanskrit legend, on the reverse."¹ And in the foot-note Thomas has suggested that Mandūkūr and its variants are a corruption of Maḥmūdpur.

From this statement we cannot discover how Thomas has been able to decide that by Maḥmūdpur Maḥmūd of Ghaznī meant Lahore and that Mandūkūr is a corrupted form of Maḥmūdpur. But Rodgers has further misled people and has tried to perpetuate this conjecture by writing in his lectures on *Coin Collecting in Northern India* : " One series of coins he (Maḥmūd) struck in Lahore. On one side in the centre was the Mahomedan confession of faith, together with the name and titles of Maḥmūd ; on the margin was a statement of the fact that the coin was struck at Mahmudpur, as it pleased the conqueror to rename Lahore, and the year. The other side was covered with Sanskrit."²

I do not feel convinced by this conjecture for various reasons. Firstly there is no reason to believe that eminent men like al-Bīrūnī would have corrupted Maḥmūdpur into Mandūkūr ; particularly when we know that al-Bīrūnī was a contemporary and companion of Maḥmūd, and was well-versed in the literature of the Hindus. Secondly it has not been mentioned anywhere in any chronicle, history, or literary composition like a Qaṣīda, that Maḥmūd renamed Lahore and called it Maḥmūdpur. Such an event should have figured prominently somewhere in some record, but, as it is, we do not find a single reference to this imaginary episode. Besides, it is a remarkable fact that no mention of Lahore is to be found in the *Tārīkh-e-Yamīnī* of 'Utbi (420 A.H./1029 A.D.), who held many responsible positions under Maḥmūd and travelled with him, although 'Utbi has made a reference to Maḥmūd's crossing of the Rāvi in his book.

وعبر مياه سيحون وجبلرم وچندراهه و ايرابه و شتلدز سالما في سالمين . و هذه اودية تجل
اعا قها عن الاوصاف و تمنع اطرافها عن الاطراف . منها مايعمر غوارب الفيول تكيف كواهل الخيول³

He (the Sultān) crossed in safety the Sihūn (Indus), Jelam, Chandrāha, Irābah (Rāvi) and Shataludz. These are all rivers, deep beyond description ; even elephants' bodies are concealed in them, so it may easily be conceived what is the case with horses.⁴

1. Thomas, Edward, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 27.

2. Rodgers, Charles J., *Coin-Collecting in Northern India* (Allahabad, 1851) pp. 58 and 59.

3. 'Utbi, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Jabbār, *Tārīkh-e-Yamīnī*, (Lahore, 1860), p. 305.

4. See Elliot and Dowson, II, 41.

Similarly Mas'ūdī (d. 345 A.H./965 A.D.), the "Herodotus of the Arabs," who wrote in the tenth century of the Christian era, and himself sojourned at Multan, does not mention Lahore or Mandūkūr in his famous geography *Murūjuddh Dhahab*.¹

So the results of my inquiries are :— (i) Lahore, Maḥmūdpur and Mandakūr are all different places ; (ii) Maḥmūd definitely struck coins in Maḥmūdpur, but this town cannot be identified from the available sources of information, although the Sanskrit legends on the coins testify to the fact that Maḥmūdpur was definitely in India ; (iii) Mandakūr was the capital of the province of Lahore (Panjab), but it again cannot be identified, although Thornton has suggested that it is a corrupted form of Mānkot, a place near Sialkot. "Now," says Thornton, "Madhokor might easily, from the similarity between *h* and *n*, and *r* and final *t*, in the Arabic character, be corrupted from Mankot or Mandhukot, a place near Sialkot. The supposition is rendered more probable by the fact that, in after-times, Shir Shah, the so-called usurper,—but, as will be hereafter pointed out, in reality the representative of the anti-Mogul, or anti-foreigner party,—seriously contemplated removing the seat of Government from Lahore, which had become associated with Mogul supremacy, to this very place, the capital of the last dynasty."² Thornton's guess would have fitted in very well but, in fact, no such place as Mankot or Mandhukot is traceable near Sialkot, as he asserts.

(iv) The government of Lahore was on behalf of the chief of Multan in 372 A.H./982 A.D., and it was a dependency of Multan in 465 A.H./1072 A.D.

(v) At least up to 372 A.H./982 A.D. there was no Muslim living in the town of Lahore, and it was inhabited only by Hindus.

(vi) There is no contemporary evidence to prove definitely that a certain person at a certain time founded this town. The traditions name different founders, some of which are the following :—

(a) Rājā Paṛichhit, who was a descendant of the Pāṇḍavas.

(b) Lohār Chand, who was the nephew of Rājā Dip Chand.

As has been already stated, this is all the traceable pre-Muslim history of Lahore, which neither gives us the exact date of its foundation nor the definite name of its founder. Lahore suddenly seems to spring into existence and prominence in the latter half of the ninth century of the Christian era. This may not be a fact, and very probably it is not, but all the same we have no authentic source from which we can prove the existence of Lahore earlier than this time. But many conjectures, some of them ingenious and based upon very striking probabilities, have been made to fix the date of foundation and the name of the founder of Lahore.

1. Vide Mas'ūdī, Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain, *Murūjuddh Dhahab* (Paris, 1863), and Sprenger, A., *Measures of Gold and Mines of Gems* (London, 1841).

2. Thornton, T. H., *Lahore*, p. 61.

Necessarily these have to be noted. They will be discussed here in chronological order.

Here are some of the most popular legendary and traditional accounts written by western and oriental writers about the founders of Lahore:.

Bernier in a letter written to Monsieur De Merveilles from Lahore in February 1665, casually remarks: "Whether Lahor be the ancient Bucefalos, I do not pretend to determine. Alexander is here well known by the name of Sekander Filfous, or Alexander the son of Philip: concerning his horse, however, they know nothing."¹

Sujān Rāe, the author of *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh*, writing in 1107 A.H./ 1695-96 A.D. reproduces the popular legend that Lava, the son of Rāma Chandra, was the founder of Lahore, and that the capital of the Panjab was shifted to Sialkot when Lahore was depopulated:

لاهور مصریست متقدمین برکنار دریای راوی، آبادی آنرا به لوخلف راجه رام چندر نسبت میدهند
در بعضی تواریخ لهور و لاهور نیز می نویسند. چون از گردش چرخ دوار بعد امتداد ادوار
در ارکان آبادی آن انهدام روداد قلیلی نشان معموری ماند دارالحکومت این ولایت شهرسیالکوت
گردید.²

Lahore is an ancient town situated on the bank of the Rāvi. It is related that Lava, the son of Rājā Rām Chand, founded it. In some books of history it is also styled Lahūr and Lahāvar. As time passed, its inhabitants began to decrease and the population became thin. Then Siālкот became the capital of this region.

Khairullāh Fidā, a Panjabi poet, thinks Ayāz was the founder of Lahore. In an *ēpopée*, *Mirzā Sāhibān*, written by him in 1155 A.H./ 1742 A.D. Fidā says:

نیست در هیچ کشوری مشهور شهر دیگر بخوی لاهور
زین بنا حسن و عشق مقصودست بانی او ایاز محمودست³

A town with the beauties of Lahore is not known in any kingdom.

The foundation of this town was inspired by Beauty and Love and Ayāz of Maḥmūd was its founder.

Murtazā Ḥusain, the author of *Ḥadiqatul Aqālīm*, written in 1202 A.H./ 1787 A.D. has only carelessly quoted Sujān Rāe:

لاهور شهریست در هندوستان بر ساحل دریای راوی. مولف خلاصه التواریخ می نویسد که هندوان
آبادی آفرای بخلف رام چند که لهور نام داشت نسبت می دهند.⁴

1. Bernier, Francois, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, (Oxford, 1934), p. 383.

2. Sujān Rāe Bhandārī, *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh* (Delhi, 1918), p. 64.

3. Fidā, Khairullāh, *Mirzā Sāhibān* (MS. owned by Ghulām Dastagīr Nāmi of Lahore), f. 76.

4. Murtazā Ḥusain, *Ḥadiqatul Aqālīm* (Panjab University Library MS., p. 8) f. 192.

Lahore is a town in India, situated on the bank of the Rāvi. The compiler of *Khulāsta-ut-Tawārīkh* writes: Hindus relate that Lahor (Lava), the son of Rām Chand, founded it.

The following authors have all stated that Lava, the son of Rāma, was the founder of Lahore:

Todd (1832): "Rāma had two sons, Lava and Kusa: from the former the Rana's family claim descent. He is stated to have built Lahore, . . ."¹

Būte Shāh (1258 A.H./1847 A.D.):

شہر بنست پاستانی کہ بناء آنرا بہ لو پسر راجہ رام چندر پسر جسرت نسبت میکنند .²

It is an ancient town, which is said to have been founded by Lava, the son of Rāja Rāma Chandra, the son of Jasrat.

Chishtī (1867):

راجہ رام چندر کے دو بیٹے ایک کشو اور دوسرا لوهو نہیے . لوهو نے شہر لاہور آباد کیا .³

Rāja Rāma Chandra had two sons, viz., Kushū and Lohū. Lohū founded the town of Lahore.

Cunningham (1871): "The great city of Lahore, which has been the capital of the Panjab for nearly nine hundred years, is said to have been founded by Lava, the son of Rāma, after whom it was named Lohāwar."⁴

Kanhayyā La'l (1882):

عموما مشہور ہے کہ مہاراجہ رام چندر اوتار کے فرزند مسمی لو نے نہ شہر آباد کیا اور لوپور نام رکھا تھا . صدہا بلکہ ہزارہا سال کی مدت گزرنے کے سبب سے لوپور کا لفظ بگڑ کر لاہور مشہور ہو گیا .⁵

It is generally known that Lava, the son of Mahārāja Rāma Chandra, the *avatār*, founded this town and named it Lavpur. After many centuries Lavpur was corrupted into Lahore.

Temple (1884): "The name Lāhore, in full Lāhāwar or Lāh's fort, is usually derived from Lava, the son of Rāma Chandra."⁶

Gulab Singh (1884): "Lahōr (Lahore) is variously called Lahār, Lāhār, Lohār, Lāhāwar, and Lohāwar. According to Hindu tradition it is named after Rāma Chandra's son, Lou (Lava). Afterwards when this prince's kingdom sank, the capital was removed to Sialkot. During the rule of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī his favourite Malik Ayāz repopulated the town and built a substantial fort."⁷

1. Todd James, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajistan*, (Oxford, 1920), Vol. I, p. 252.

2. Būte Shāh, *Tārīkh-e-Panjāb* (P.U.L. MS. A Pe III 8), f. 16b.

3. Chishtī, Nūr Aḥmad *Tahqīqāt-e-Chishtī*, (Lahore, 1867), p. 793.

4. Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 226.

5. Kanhayyā La'l, *Tārīkh-e-Lahore*, p. 7.

6. Temple, R. C., *Panjāb Notes and Queries* (Allahabad, 1884), Vol. I, March, 1884, p. 68.

7. Gulab Singh, *Panjāb Notes and Queries*, Vol. I, February 1884, p. 57.

In the classical Greek accounts we do not find Lahore mentioned in connection with Alexander. Yet there can be no doubt that Alexander crossed the Rāvi in the vicinity of Lahore, and must in all probability have passed the site of the modern city. If, therefore, any place of importance had existed at the time, it would doubtless have been mentioned. So it is not probable that Lahore was founded before the first century A.D. In the next place, no city answering in name or description to Lahore occurs in Strabo, who wrote between 60 B.C. and 19 A.D. and whose object was "to correct the earlier works in the light of the increase of knowledge;" nor does it appear in Pliny's description of the royal road between the Indus and Allahabad, which must have been written between 23 A.D. and 79. A.D.

But, further, in the Geography of Ptolemy, whose name marks the highest pitch of perfection in early geography, and who flourished at Alexandria about 150 A.D., mention is made of a city called Labokla, situated on the route between the Indus and Palibothra, in a tract of country called Kaspeira (Kashmir?), described as extending along the rivers Bidastas (Jehlum), Sandabal (Chandra Bhaga, or Chenab), and Adris (Rāvi). This place Wilford would identify, from its name and position, with Lahore, and the identification is made more probable by the discovery of Cunningham of the Amakatis of Ptolemy, a city placed by him in the immediate vicinity of Labokla, to the West of the Rāvi, in the ruins of Amba Kapi, about 25 miles from Lahore. Cunningham believes the identification of Wilford to be correct. If we agree with these inferences, we can approximately fix the date of the foundation of Lahore at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century of the Christian era.¹

Walker,² Hunter³ and the author of the article on Lahore contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,⁴ have remarked that Yüan Chwāng, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim of the seventh century of the Christian era, who visited the Panjāb in 630 A.D., notices the city in his itinerary. This is an error. In the itinerary published by Cunningham no mention of Lahore exists.⁵ Besides, this is how this portion of Yüan Chwāng's journey is described by Shamans Hwui Li and Yen Tsung, in their *Life of Hsuen-Tsiang*: "From this (Rajpura), going south-east down the mountains and crossing the river, after 700 li or so, he came to the kingdom of Tseh-kia (Takka)." After travelling for some time "on the morrow he arrived at the eastern frontiers of the kingdom of Tcheka (Takka) and

1. Cf. Latiff's *Lahore*, pp. 6-7; Cunningham's *Geography*, pp. 225-28; Thornton's *Lahore*, pp. 58-9, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVI, p. 106; Walker's *Lahore District Gazetteer*, p. 20; and Wilford's *Comparative Geography of India*.

2. Walker, Casson, *Lahore District Gazetteer* (Lahore, 1919), p. 20.

3. Hunter, *the Imperial Gazetteer of India*, (Oxford, 1908), XVI, 106.

4. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, (London, 1926), Vol. 13, p. 596.

5. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 644.

entered a great city."¹ This city, Samuel Beale thinks, would probably be Lahore.² Thornton also subscribes to this opinion, saying: "A far less dubious mention of Lahore is found, as was pointed out by Major-General Cunningham, in the itinerary of Hwan Tshang, the Chinese traveller, who visited the Punjab, 630 A.D. He speaks of a large city, containing many thousands of families, chiefly Brahmans, situated on the eastern frontier of the kingdom of Cheka, which, he says, extended from the Indus to the Byas. From this city he proceeded to Jalandhara, the modern Jullundur. Now Jullundur is situated almost due east of Lahore, and midway between the two cities is a village called Patti to this day. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the great Brahmanical city of Hwan Tshang was the city of Lahore."³ Now all this is not very logical if we compare the statement with the itinerary of Yüan Chwāng, the Chinese traveller. Yüan Chwāng has clearly stated that the kingdom of Cheka or Takka extended from the Indus to the Bias. He also mentions that travelling south-east from Rajpura he came to the eastern frontier of the kingdom of Cheka, which should naturally be near the Bias. Here he enters a great city, which should be on the Bias river, and as Cunningham has pointed out, must be Kasūr⁴ and not Lahore. This disproves the assertion that Yüan Chwāng has directly or indirectly mentioned Lahore in his itinerary.

To borrow an expression from Thornton, "such are the somewhat barren results of inquiries" about the name and date of foundation of Lahore. They may be briefly recapitulated as follows: The city of Lahore, named variously, and possibly the Labokla of Ptolemy, was probably founded as early as the beginning of the second century of the Christian era; it is definitely mentioned first of all in the ninth century; and it did not come into prominence until the period of the invasion of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in the beginning of the eleventh century.

MUHAMMAD BĀQIR.

1. Shamans Hwui Li and Yen-Tsung, *The Life of Huen-Tsang* (London, 1888), pp. 72-74.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 74, f.n.

3. Thornton, T. H., *Lahore*, p. 60.

4. Cunningham, A., *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 229.

MEDLÆVAL MUSLIM POLITICAL THEORIES OF REBELLION AGAINST THE STATE¹

ALL Muslim political thinkers recognised the necessity of a temporal and religious head for the Muslim community.² Men are naturally vicious, they maintained, following the Qur'ānic teachings,³ and therefore in order to save society from falling into chaos, it was necessary to have an Imām or Leader who should interpret and enforce the Shari'a, defend the State against foreign aggression, and promote the spiritual and temporal well-being of the people. But although the various sects and schools of thought agreed that the presence of an Imām was indispensable, they disagreed as regards his qualifications and the method of his appointment. Accordingly, obedience was rendered to the ruler if his appointment conformed to certain ideas, and was withdrawn if it was against those ideas.

I shall first discuss the attitude of the Sunni jurists, philosophers, and statesmen towards the Imām or Caliph, for they represent orthodox ideas which mostly dominated Mediæval Islam. After this the theories of the Khārijites, the Shī'as, the Ismā'ilites, and those of the Carmathians will be dealt with.

THE SUNNĪ THEORY

THE early Sunnī jurists sanctioned the duty of obedience to the Khalīfah; at the same time, they did not fail to emphasize his responsibilities. The Khalīfah was elected by the community, and this established a contact between the two. Men were required to pay due obedience to the

1. I have discussed in this short article the political ideas of all the important Muslim sects—Sunnīs, Shī'as, Khārijites, Ismā'ilites and Carmathians. Some people may object to my use of the word 'Muslim' for these sects, but I think that, objectively speaking, all those ideas which arose within the body of and as a result of Islam, and which drew their inspiration chiefly from the Qur'ān and the Tradition, are entitled to the name of 'Muslim.'

2. Qur'ān: III, 25. Also VI, 166.

3. Qur'ān: XX, 123.

ruler, while he, on his part, was to look after their welfare. In case he proved to be wicked and ordered anything which was physically impossible, or against the Shari'a, he was not to be obeyed, for there is "no obedience in sin." Abū-Bakr, the first Caliph, clearly brought out the limits of obedience in the first speech which he made soon after his election to the Caliphate. "As I obey God and his Prophet, obey me," said he. "If I neglect the Laws of God and the Prophet, I have no more right to your obedience." Abū-Yūsuf, similarly, strikes the same note in the introductory part of his book *Kitāb-ul-Kharāj*. "The Shepherds of men must give account to their Lord," observes he while advising Hārūn ar-Rashīd, "as a shepherd renders account to his master. Also thou must practise justice in the exercise of what God has entrusted to thy care and what He has put in thy charge, if only for a moment. On the Day of Judgement, God will accord the greatest happiness to the prince who will make his people most happy."¹ Abū-Yūsuf also collected many Traditions of the Prophet according to which obedience to wicked rulers was denied.

But this theory of conditional obedience to rulers was subsequently modified, as the Sunnī jurists and philosophers realized that their ideas were too idealistic to suit the realities of political life. They had believed in election, but after the first four Caliphs, election had become merely a formal affair, and the hereditary principle had been introduced. But even this had not been strictly adhered to. For although the Caliphate remained within a particular family, it was force which determined the question of succession. The jurists had emphasized that the Caliphs should be good and virtuous and realize their responsibilities, but many of them had been irresponsible tyrants. This contradiction between their theories and the facts of history obliged them to modify their views. For, if the jurists had clung too closely to their ideas, they would have had to renounce their allegiance to most of the rulers and call upon the Muslim community to do the same. But this they did not want to do, for without an Imām the community would be living in sin. Besides, they were so apprehensive of the dangers of anarchy resulting from the breakdown of authority, that they even preferred a vicious Caliph. The destruction of authority was bound to lead to civil war and disorder, while the presence of an Imām, however unworthy he might be, would at least promote some semblance of peace and security. These ideas are very similar to those of Hobbes, an English political thinker of the seventeenth century.

It is true that Māwardī (974/1058) lays down a number of high qualifications for the Khalifah,² but this represents his desire to revive the glories of the early Caliphate. In reality he knew that the Caliphate had passed and was passing through periods of extreme degradation and impotence. In spite of this, he condoned those Caliphs who were sunk in vice, and gave them his moral and legal recognition. He acted in this way, first,

1. Abū-Yūsuf, *Kitāb-ul-Kharāj*, p. 4.

2. Māwardī, *Al-Akhām as-Sultāniya*, pp. 5-10.

because he wanted to prevent rebellions which were sure to lead to disastrous results for the moral, social, and religious life of the Muslims, and which would break the unity of Islam; second, because he realized that without an Imām the Muslim community would be living in sin. For the same reasons, he even maintained that a duly elected Imām cannot be displaced in favour of a more capable candidate. It is true he admits that the Caliph can forfeit his position as a result of evil conduct or heresy, infirmity of body and mind, and loss of liberty.¹ But he is extremely vague as to how the deposition is to be brought about. "It appears," as Professor Gibb observes, "that while a Khalifah may legally be deposed, there is no legal means of deposing him."² The result was that Māwardī, in the last analysis, remained an apologist of the Caliphate.

But he had, in spite of this, at least the courage to recognize, though in a vague and ineffective manner, the right of the people to rebel against a wicked Caliph. Subsequent thinkers do not even go as far as this. On the other hand, owing to the influence of the autocratic traditions of the Persian empire, and because of the necessity to suppress the rebellions of Khārijites and Shī'as, political thinkers were led to invest the Caliphs with more and more powers. Besides, because of their experiences of civil war and rebellions, the jurists and philosophers began to consider even a wicked ruler better than the destruction of government, for the collapse of authority would lead to complete anarchy, and the breaking up of the unity of Islam; while even a weak government would at least give some material and religious security to the Muslim community. Thus, al-Ash'arī says, "We maintain the error of those who hold it right to rise against the Imāms whensoever there may be apparent in them a falling-away from right. We opposed to armed rebellion against them and civil war." Similarly, Ghazzālī towards the end of the 5th century very frankly observed, "We know it is not allowed to feed on a dead animal: still, it would be worse to die of hunger. Of those that contend that the Caliphate is dead for ever and irreplaceable, we should like to ask: 'Which is to be preferred, anarchy and the stoppage of social life for lack of a properly constituted authority, or acknowledgement of the existing power, whatever it be?' Of these two alternatives, the jurists cannot but choose the latter."³ Ghazzālī, of course, calls on the rulers to be good and virtuous and to enforce the Sharī'a, but at the same time he strongly advises the people to honour their king and that "they should in no way rebel against him, so that they may act upon the words of the great and mighty God which we have already mentioned, 'Obey God, obey the Apostle and those in authority among you.'"⁴ Qāḍī Ibn-Jam'a of Damascus (about 700 A.H.) also enjoins obedience to rulers however vicious they

1. Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām as-Sulṭāniya*, Urdu translation, Osmania University publication, pp. 31-40.

2. *Islamic Culture*, Vol. No 3; H. A. R. Gibb., *Al-Māwardī's Theory of the Khalifah*.

3. *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 302.

4. Al-Ghazzālī, *Nasḥat-ul-Mulūk*, p. 93.

may be.¹ And Turtūshī, a Spanish jurist, thinks that an unjust monarchy for forty years is preferable to an hour of anarchy.

It must not be thought, however, that the Muslim thinkers in enjoining obedience to rulers were trying to sacrifice the rights of the people. What they were attempting to do was to emphasize that human rights cannot be protected if authority breaks down, and that religion, honour, life, and property can only remain secure if organized government exists. The reason why the later Muslim jurists conferred unlimited powers upon the Caliph was not because they desired the glorification of the rulers, but because they realized that there was no other way of maintaining law and order and enforcing the Shari'a. They would have liked to put restrictions upon the powers of rulers, but as practical men who faced the realities of the historical process, they acquiesced in the *status quo*.

Nizām-ul-Mulk on the other hand belonged to a different category of thinkers. While the jurists were the apologists of the Caliphate, he was a statesman and the theorist of the Saljuqid dynasty. It is true he desired the rulers to abide by the Shari'a² but he was also anxious to revive the traditions of the Persian empire. His famous book *Siyāsāt Nāma* is crammed with anecdotes from Persian history which clearly suggest that Nizām-ul-Mulk wanted the Saljūq Sultāns to model their policy and government upon the examples set by Bahrām, Naushīrwān, and other famous rulers. He accordingly pointed out the need of a strong government, and completely ignored the rights of the people, for they were only required to pay taxes and render passive obedience to their ruler. In fact, even if the latter proved wicked and unjust his subjects should not rebel, for if they did, and "refused to obey the king, they would not get comfort from God."³ It is true that the ruler is enjoined by Nizām-ul-Mulk to be just and benevolent, but this was in order that "his people may pray for him and his kingdom may grow large and powerful and he may go to Heaven."⁴ Besides, a ruler is appointed by God,⁵ and therefore is accountable for his actions not to the people but to Him alone. From this analysis it is clear that to Nizām-ul-Mulk a ruler was an end in himself, and that men existed only for his glorification. It was indeed a reactionary theory, for it only emphasized the duties of the subjects and ignored their rights.

Thus the Sunnī jurists and thinkers, in spite of certain differences among them at best remained apologists of the existing governments. It was, however, the Khārijites, the Shī'as and some of their sects who represented revolutionary tendencies; for they not only aimed at substituting one ruler for another, but they also wanted to introduce changes in

1. Ibn-Jam'a, *Tahrīr-al-Ahkām*, pp. 7-8. Quoted by Von Kramer in his *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 269.

2. Nizām-ul-Mulk, *Siyāsāt Nāma*, p. 53.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

the conception of kingship, and, as in the case of the Carmathians, even wanted to overthrow the social and economic structure of society.

THE KHĀRIJITE THEORY

THE Khārijites¹ agreed with the Sunnī jurists in the theory of the election of the Caliph, but they disagreed with them in restricting the Caliphate to the Quraish. They put forward a Hadīth of the Prophet that even if a negro slave becomes an Imām, obedience must be paid to him. They believed that the chief qualifications of a ruler were his moral and intellectual qualities. They recognized that it was the duty of the people to obey their ruler, but if the latter departed from the Shari'a, and failed to promote the well-being of his subjects, he must be deposed and even slain. And because no Caliphs except Abū-Bakr and 'Umar, and 'Uthmān for the first six years of his Caliphate, and 'Alī till the battle of Siffin, conformed to their ideas, the Khārijites remained in perpetual revolt against the established government. But this extreme and uncompromising attitude led to their extinction. Only a moderate wing under the name of 'Ibādiya has survived.

THE SHI'Ā THEORY

THE Shi'as also refused to recognize the Sunnī Caliphs and constantly organized conspiracies and rebellions against them. In the beginning the opposition was only of a political nature. The Shi'as claimed that 'Alī instead of Abū-Bakr should have been the Caliph after the death of the Prophet, for 'Alī was not only the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, but was also the ablest man among the latter's Companions, and, what was more important, had been nominated to the Caliphate by the Prophet.²

Later on, from the 'Abbāsīd period, the grounds for claiming the Caliphate for 'Alī and his descendants from Fāṭima (daughter of the Prophet) were reinforced by metaphysical arguments. It was claimed that 'Alī had been nominated by God to the Imāmate since Eternity. God had allotted a portion of his Light (Nūr) to Adam, and this had been transmitted to the Prophets in the elder branch. In the family of Muḥammad, the Nūr divided itself—part went to Muḥammad and part to 'Alī. But it was again reunited in the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima.

The result of such a theory was to invest the Imāms with great sanctity and power. They began to be considered by the Shi'as as supernatural

¹ Art. "Kharijites," *the Encyclopædia of Islam*.

² Hasan b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī al-Hillī: *Al-Bābu'l-Hādī 'Ashar*. It gives a very good exposition of the Shi'ā point of view, and has been translated into English.

beings who could perform miracles, knew the hearts of men, and were devoid of all human weaknesses. Their opinions were, therefore, infallible, and every Muslim was required to submit to them. Human beings possess no rights; their only duty is to bow down to the decisions of the Imām; for, while human intellect is imperfect, the Imām knows what is good for them. Thus a Shī'a Imām was made even more absolute than a Sunnī Caliph. But the Shī'a theories were never tested by the realities of political life, for the Shī'a Imāms remained spiritual leaders, and with the exception of 'Alī never possessed political power. It is difficult to say whether or not they had any hand in fomenting rebellions against the established Caliphate, but after the martyrdom of Husain, they mostly led a retired life and were unconcerned with the turmoils of worldly existence. The Shī'as, could, therefore, easily afford to build up a consistent theory of the State, while maintaining a hostile attitude towards the Sunnī Caliphs. They sent their agents to all parts of the Muslim empire, and organized conspiracies and rebellions for the overthrow of the Caliphate. But as long as Shi'ism remained merely a political or religious movement it did not become a great force; it was only when it became organized on a class basis that its influence over Muslim politics became effective and widespread.

In Persia, during the Sassanid period, bitter social antagonism existed between the rich and the poor, which found expression in the sphere of religion also so that while the ruling classes followed Zoroastrianism, the lower classes were either Mazdakites or Manichæans. When Persia was conquered by the Arabs, the class basis of society remained; only the old social antagonisms adopted new disguises. The upper classes identified their interests with the Arab aristocracy and embraced Sunnism, while the lower classes were gradually won over by the Shī'as because of their common interests, namely opposition to the established government. It was a great stroke of diplomacy on the part of the Shī'as to have given their movement a social basis, for in this way they were able to collect under their banner not only the peasants and artisans of Persia, but also those of other countries. In Iraq and Syria, for example, the Greek Christians became Sunnis, while the peasants and artisans who were Gnostics accepted Shi'ism, and Shi'ism also became intimately connected with the trade-guilds of Syria and Egypt.¹

THE ISMĀ'ĪLITES

THIS antagonism between the rich and the poor was still more developed and exploited by a sect of Shī'as called the Ismā'ilites or the Seveners. The Ismā'ilites agreed with the Shī'a Ithnā'-'ashary (the orthodox Shī'as or the believers in 12 Imāms) as far as the sixth Imām; but after him dis-

1. A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. I, pp. 400-401. (Note by Professor Gibb). Professor Gibb is against the view of the late Professor Browne, who identified Shi'ism with Persia "as the principal expression of an Iranian social consciousness" in opposition to the Arabs.

agreement began. For the orthodox Shī'as believed that, though Ismā'il was the eldest son of Ja'far-i-Šādiq, yet, he was not entitled to the Imāmate because of his intemperate habits, and therefore they considered his younger brother Mūsā as the rightful Imām.¹ The Ismā'ilites, on the other hand, regarded Ismā'il as the seventh Imām. They, however, not only accepted the Light theory of the orthodox Shī'as, but even went further and claimed 'Alī as the reincarnation of God. The result of such a theory was that the Ismā'ilites enforced the duty of obedience to their Imāms even more strongly than was ever done by the Shī'as. At the same time they exalted the opposition and rebellion against the Sunnī Caliphs to the point of virtue, while submission to them was regarded as sin.

It was 'Abdullāh, son of Maymūn, a Persian oculist of Ahwāz, who, by giving this sect a social basis, converted it into a powerful organization. He took advantage of the troubles of the 9th century A.D. which were threatening the Caliphate. The peasantry of Iraq had been impoverished by civil wars and maladministration and was therefore discontented. In 869 A.D. the negro slaves (Zanj) employed in the saltpetre industry at Baṣra rebelled against the government. This social unrest helped 'Abdullāh and his followers to win over the peasants and artisans and to organize movements against the government and the feudal classes, both Persian and Arab. But since they had no conception of an organized revolution, they plotted the assassination of their leading enemies and led sporadic risings in order to overthrow the Caliphate. The Ismā'ilites were, however, not merely content to introduce religious and political changes into Muslim society; they also wanted an intellectual revolution, for which they borrowed freely from the philosophical systems of Plato and Pythagoras.²

The anti-feudal role of the Ismā'ilites continued so long as they remained out of power. But as soon as they established their own government in Egypt, their passion for social justice subsided, and they became as unjust to the peasants and workers as their predecessors had been (they however continued their patronage of trade guilds). And although they remained anti-authoritarian so far as the Baghdad Caliphate was concerned, they enforced extreme obedience to their own leaders. This cult of leader-worship reached a climax with the Assassins, an Eastern branch of the Ismā'ilites, who captured a number of fortresses in Ispahan, Fars, Khuzistan, and other parts of Persia, whence they carried on assassinations of the leading men of Baghdad. They were in the end destroyed by the Mongol invasion in the 13th century.³

THE CARMATHIANS

The Carmathians were also a branch of the Ismā'ilites, but they were

1. Browne. *A Literary History of Persia*, pp. 194-198.

2. *Rasā'il-i-Ikhwān-aṣ-Ṣaḡā'*, Introduction by Dr. Ṭāhā Hussain, Vol. I, pp. 1-8, Cairo, 1926.

3. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, pp. 201-211.

more radical and revolutionary than any other of the Islamic sects. They not only desired the overthrow of the Caliphate, they also wanted a social revolution. They based their movement on tolerance, equality, and justice.¹ They planned a kind of communism, with community of property, and for some time even community of wives.² And because of their desire to promote social justice, their influence among the peasants and artisans was very great.

The Carmathian movement was founded by Hamdān bin al-Ashat, nicknamed Carmat a follower of 'Abdullāh the Ismā'īlite. His followers inspired great terror among the orthodox Muslims throughout the 10th century A.D. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Caliphate, Abū-Sa'īd occupied Bahrain in 287 A.H. Basra, Kūfa, and 'Umān were occupied by his son and successor Abū-Ṭāhīr Sulaimān. The latter also seized Mecca in 317 A.H., from which place he carried off the Black Stone, to the great horror of the Muslim world. But some of these conquests were temporary, because the Carmathians succeeded in establishing their power only in Bahrain, 'Umān, and parts of Yemen. Their government were not strictly monarchical.³ Abū-Sa'īd, for example, was only Primus Inter Pares and Abū-Ṭāhīr established a representative council for the administration of Bahrain.

In conclusion it must be said that the Carmathians represented some of the most progressive tendencies of Mediaeval Islam. They were opposed to the Baghdad Caliphate not so much because they believed in 'Alīd legitimism, but chiefly because they thought it was a negation of social justice and was based upon the exploitation of the peasants, artisans and workers. The Shī'a opposition to the Orthodox Caliphs was based upon the fact that 'Alī and his descendants from Fāṭima claimed the Caliphate. These claims were later on reinforced by metaphysical and supernatural arguments and an attempt was made to give a social basis to the Shī'a movement. It was however the Ismā'īlites⁴ who taking advantage of the unrest among the peasants and artisans during the 9th century A.D. gave their movement an anti-feudal character. But their main plank of opposition to the Caliphate was 'Alīd legitimism. The Carmathians, however, made this only a subordinate consideration; for their primary aim was to establish equality, tolerance, and justice. And wherever they established their power, they tried to put their ideals into practice. They were strongly opposed to despotic governments, and so they not only denounced the Baghdad Caliphs but also refused later on to acknowledge

1. Art. "Karmatians," *the Encyclopædia of Islam*.

2. Bahā'-ud-dīn al-Janādī, *The Carmathians of Bahrain*, translated by Henry Cassels Kay, p. 203. Also see De Goeje, Vol. I, pp. 176-177.

3. De Goeje, *Memoire sur less Carmathes du Bahrain et less Fatumides*, Vol. I, p. 150.

4. Al-Baghādādī, *Al-Farq Bain al-Fraq*, English translation by Abraham S. Halkin. This book gives a very prejudiced account of the Ismā'īlites and the Carmathians and deals mostly with their philosophical and scientific ideas.

the Fātimids as their overlords. From the eleventh century their influence began to decline. There were various reasons for this: first, because their ideas and plans were vague and not clearly defined; second, because their extreme violence antagonized the masses against them; and third because their ideas were too advanced for their time. But in spite of their failures, the story of their struggle against oppression, and of their social experiments, forms one of the most interesting and instructive pages of Islamic history.

MOHIBUL HASAN KHAN.

ALA'-UD-DĪN'S PRICE CONTROL SYSTEM

ALA'-UD-DĪN KHILJĪ was the greatest mediæval ruler of India. The significance of the Khilji revolution lies in this, that it transferred political power from the Turkish to the Indian Muslims. And soon the essentially Indian genius for administrative organisation made itself felt. The early Turkish rulers rendered a very important service to Islam by consolidating the Muslim power in India. These Turks were warrior-kings, Qutb-ud-Dīn, Iltutmish and Balban. The rich plains of India resounded with the hoofs of Muslim cavalry. But these early Muslim rulers of India had neither the leisure nor the inclination for administrative reform. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn inherited and developed the tradition of Mulkgīrī, i.e., imperialism. The lure of the Deccan gold and his own restless ambition led him to establish a Muslim empire throughout the length and breadth of India. But besides the tradition of conquest, 'Alā'-ud-Dīn started another tradition of administrative reform which was continued by the Tughluqs. This is the chief significance of the reign of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn. We hear a good deal nowadays about 'planned economy.' It is interesting to notice that 'Alā'-ud-Dīn—a mediæval despot—was able to undertake 'planned economy' on a large scale. Every modern government is faced with the problem of 'price control.' It will be of interest therefore to understand the price control organisation of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn.

CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO THE PRICE CONTROL

PRICE Control is essentially a war-time measure. The control of supplies and prices has been found necessary by practically every administration in the world to-day. The exigencies of modern war have necessitated price control. Similarly the pressure of Mongol invasions led to the institution of price control in the time of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn. Baranī has given a graphic account of the terror inspired by the threat of Mongol invasions. A keenly contested battle for supremacy took place when the Mongols under their leader Qutlugh Khwāja invaded India and Zafar Khān, the greatest warrior of the age was killed.¹ Though the Mongols

1. Baranī, 260

retreated, 'Alā'-ud-Dīn won only a Pyrrhic victory, for the Mongols under Targhi invaded India with larger forces next time and succeeded in laying siege to Delhi. The Mongols commanded all the roads and lanes leading to the city of Delhi so that the people of Delhi were faced with starvation. The Mongols pushed on the siege of Delhi for two months and then suddenly departed. People considered it to be a miracle that Delhi should have escaped the horrors of being sacked. They attributed their escape from this danger to the prayers of Shaikh Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliya'. Baranī makes a definite statement that if Targhi had prosecuted the siege for a month more, Delhi would have fallen.¹ This serious threat to the safety of the empire alarmed 'Alā'-ud-Dīn and he took vigorous measures to maintain a powerful, well-organised, and well-equipped army. But lest the army expenditure should prove too heavy a drain upon the exchequer, 'Alā'-ud-Dīn fixed the salary of a soldier at a rather low level—e.g., 234 tankas a year (a man with two horses was paid 78 tankas more).² But if the soldiers were not provided with the wherewithal to live at a price within their means, the war effort would be crippled and the country itself exposed to grave dangers. Hence the necessity of the control of supplies and prices. There was another reason for the price control. Plenty of the Deccan gold had poured into the treasury and hence a much larger amount of money came into circulation than before. The conquests of Malik Kāfur marked the zenith of Muslim power in the Deccan. Kāfur returned to Delhi after the Deccan conquests with a thousand camels groaning under the weight of the treasure. According to Baranī "the old inhabitants of Delhi remarked that so many elephants and so much gold had never before been brought into Delhi. No one could remember anything like it nor was there anything like it recorded in history."³ Thus there must have been a rise of prices due to the government's demands for the needs of the defence forces and the inflatory forces at work. Hence 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's government adopted various measures to bring down the prices of commodities and especially to cheapen the necessities of life. Baranī has described in detail the steps taken by 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's government in enforcing price control.

FOOD CONTROL

It is really surprising that 'Alā'-ud-Dīn—an illiterate mediæval despot—should have succeeded in enforcing food control whereas the highly organised modern government of India has failed in its main object of stabilising the prices of commodities. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's food control policy was successful because he did not believe in half-hearted measures. His

1. Baranī, 302.

2. *Idem*, 319 and 303.

3. *Idem*, 333.

food control organisation was a marvel of efficiency because he understood the fundamental nature of the problem which, on account of its complexity, has almost baffled modern governments. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn adopted the following measures for carrying out his policy of food control :—

I. *Fixation of Maximum Prices.*—'Alā'-ud-Dīn did not make the mistake of fixing the maximum prices of wheat, sugar, salt and a few other commodities only and leaving the rest of the food-grains untouched. His price control was comprehensive enough to include all essential foodstuffs.

The rates were fixed as follows :—

	per man	Seer	Jitals
Wheat do	..	..	7½
Barley do	..	..	4
Rice do	..	..	5
Mash (pulse) .. do	..	..	5
Nakhud („) .. do	..	..	5
Moth („) .. do	..	..	3
Refined Sugar (Nabāt) .. do	1	1	2½
Sugar 1st Class .. do	1	1	1½
Sugar 2nd class .. do	3	1	1½
Salt man	5½		

There are three striking features of these tariff rates: (a) The food control order was fairly comprehensive—it included all the necessities of life—wheat, barley, rice, various kinds of pulses, salt and various kinds of sugar. (b) Prices once fixed were not modified later on. In fact this scale of prices was maintained as long as 'Alā'-ud-Dīn lived. This unvarying price of grains in the market was indeed looked upon as one of the wonders of the time.² The system was rigid and wooden ; it was not elastic enough to be responsive to the needs of changing circumstances. To maintain uniformity of prices for a number of years might simplify the administrative problem but could not be expected to fit into the needs of the producers or the consumers. (c) But we have no data at our disposal to doubt the definite statement of Baranī that the system worked efficiently in practice and that the prices of commodities did not rise by even one Jital.²

II. *Royal Granaries.*—The secret of the success of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's food control system was that the government took steps to have large stocks of foodstuffs in royal granaries. All possible sources of supply were tapped. The Khālṣa villages (crown lands) of the Doaba were ordered to pay the revenue in kind. The corn was stored in royal granaries in Delhi. In the country dependent on the New City half the Sultān's portion of the produce was ordered to be taken in grain. In Jhain also stores were to be

1. Baranī, 305

2. *Idem*, 308.

formed. These stores of grain were to be sent to Delhi in caravans. Thus plenty of grain came to Delhi to be stored in royal granaries.¹ The State thus became the greatest dealer.

At the present time the public has witnessed a strange spectacle—wheat, sugar and other articles for which maximum prices have been fixed are not available in the market at all. They can be had only in the 'black markets.' When the public knock at the doors of grain dealers they receive the reply that they have not the commodities required. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn did not make the mistake of leaving the consumers at the mercy of the grain dealers and the latter at the mercy of hoarders and profiteers. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's government undertook the responsibility of supplying commodities to the grain dealers. Thus effective measures were taken to maintain the supplies of essential foodstuffs at the new prices.

III. *Control of Supplies.*—'Alā'-ud-Dīn's government took vigorous steps to ensure the supply of goods to the market. For the success of the scheme it was necessary to control supplies at the source. The grower was to be assured of a reasonably fair price for his products but he was not to be permitted to hold back the stocks in the hope of selling them at higher rates. Instructions were given to the revenue collectors to collect the revenue vigorously and to see to it that the cultivators did not hoard foodstuffs. An ordinance was passed by which cultivators were compelled to sell their corn in the fields to the corn carriers at a low price so that the dealers should have no excuse for neglecting to bring the corn into the markets. The government however gave a very important concession to the cultivators—they were permitted to carry their own corn into the market and sell it at market rates, thus pocketing the margin of profit which was allowed to the dealers.²

IV. *Checking Profiteering.*—Strong action was taken against the hoarder and the profiteer. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn put down profiteering with a high hand. He adopted really drastic measures. All carriers and dealers were registered. Orders were given to arrest the head carriers and bring them in chains before the controller of the markets, who was directed to detain them until they agreed upon one common mode of action and gave bail for each other. Nor were they to be released until they brought their wives and children, beasts of burden and cattle, and all their property, and fixed their abodes in the villages along the banks of the Jamna.³ Thus an effective means was devised of maintaining control over the carriers and dealers; their families were kept as hostages at Delhi or in the vicinity, and they were held collectively responsible for the offences of any member of their fraternity. They had to enter into engagement to buy foodstuffs from the cultivators at fixed rates and to sell them in Delhi at market rates. By this means an effective supply of foodstuffs to the market was assured.

1. Barani, 306.

2. *Idem*, 307.

3. *Idem*, 306.

V. *Anti-hoarding Drive*.—No government worth the name can allow a state of affairs to develop in which certain individuals can be allowed to hoard and secrete stocks of food while thousands of hungry men and women are on the verge of starvation and death. Hence a merciless attack was launched on the hoarder and profiteer. No merchant, farmer, corn dealer or any one else, could hoard secretly even a *Man* or half a *Man* of grain and sell it at his shop for a *Dang* above the regulated price. If regrated grain was discovered, it was forfeited to the Sultān and the regrater was fined. The governors and revenue collectors had to give assurance to the government that they would do their best to discover regrated grain and to punish the offender. Thus it was made a penal offence for any farmer, merchant, or corn dealer to store grain in excess of his normal requirements. Even the consumers were not allowed to buy in excess of their recognised needs.¹ Thus the anti-hoarding drive was directed not only against the farmer, merchant, and corn dealer but also against the consumer. The difficulties of enforcing maximum prices by penal provision are obvious and the existence of black markets is well known. Credit must therefore be given to 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's government for having had full success in enforcing maximum prices.

VI. *Government Depots*.—In normal times sufficient supplies of corn reached the market. But even in the years in which the rains were deficient, there was no want of corn in Delhi and no rise in the price of foodstuffs. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn was very strict in enforcing his price control system. Once or twice when the rains were deficient a market overseer reported that the price had risen half a jital and he received twenty blows with the stick.² In times of scarcity government depots were opened and the system of rationing of foodstuffs was enforced. A quantity of corn sufficient for the daily supply of each quarter of the city was given to the managers in charge of government depots. Rationing of food was taken up—half a *Man* used to be allowed to the ordinary purchaser.³ But great care was taken that the people did not go away disappointed on account of a rush of buyers at government depots. If any person failed to get his apportioned ration of foodstuffs or received injuries on account of the rush of buyers, the overseer of the market was taken to task.⁴ The market officials were held responsible for the proper working of the rationing system.

VII. *Price Control Officers*.—The head of the department of food was Malik Kābul Ulugh Khān.⁵ The department concerned with the control of the market was Diwān-i-Riyāsāt. Ya'qūb was the Ra'īs or the

1. Baranī, 307.

2. *Idem*, 308.

3. *Idem*, 309.

4. *Idem*, 309.

5. *Idem*, 305.

controller of the market.¹ There was a highly organised espionage system, and 'Alā'-ud-Dīn took a keen interest in the affairs of the market. Reports used to be made daily to the Sultān of the market rate and of the market transactions from three distinct sources. The superintendent of the market (Shahnā-i-Mandī) made a report. The Barīds or reporters made a separate report. The Manhis or spies made another report. If there was any variance in these reports, the superintendent was punished.² The close supervision exercised by 'Alā'-ud-Dīn kept the market officers straight in the path of duty.

CLOTH CONTROL

NEXT to food, cloth is a necessity of the masses. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's cloth control order aimed at making cloth available to the people at reasonable prices. The following were the chief features of Alā'-ud-Dīn's cloth control order :—

(i) All buying and selling of cloth had to be done in the market called Serāi 'Adl, situated inside the Badaun Gate. This rule was strictly enforced. If goods were sold at higher rates or at any other place than the Serāi 'Adl, then those goods were forfeited to the State and the offender was punished. All kinds of cloth, whether the price ranged from 1 tanka to 100 tankas or to 1,000 and 2,000 tankas, had to be bought and sold only in the market called Serāi 'Adl.³

(ii) The cloth control order was comprehensive enough to include nearly all varieties of cloth in demand. The price of 'standard cloth' was fixed at a fairly low level. Thus coarse cloth (called Kirpas) of the best quality was sold at the rate of 20 yards for one tanka and cloth of an inferior quality at the rate of 40 yards for one tanka. A bed sheet could be had for 10 jitals. Finely woven cloth (Shirīn Bāft) was divided into three grades. The best quality was sold for 5 tankas a yard, the middling for 3, and the inferior for 2 tankas. Delhi silk was sold for 16 tankas a yard and Kotla silk for 6 tankas. Cloth in which fine yarn was used was sold for 3 tankas a yard.⁴

(iii) All cloth merchants (whether wholesale dealers or retailers) were registered in the office of the controller of markets. They were required to enter into engagements to bring all varieties of cloth to the Serāi 'Adl and sell them at regulated prices.⁴

(iv) The government lent 20 lakhs of tankas to rich merchants, so that they might purchase cloth of excellent quality from countries far and

1. Baranī, 317.

2. *Idem*, 308.

3. *Idem*, 309-10.

4. *Idem*, 310-11.

wide and bring it to the Serāi 'Adl for sale.¹

(v) Distinction was made between standard cloth required for the use of the masses and cloth of the best quality which was required by the rich and the nobility. To keep down the prices of cloth of the best quality an ordinance was issued that no one could purchase silk, satin, brocade and other cloth of superior quality without a permit from the controller of markets.¹

CATTLE MARKET

THE cattle market was also controlled. The efficiency of the army depended upon the cavalry. Hence 'Alā'-ud-Dīn took steps to ensure a cheap supply of horses for his troops. Horses required for the use of the army were divided into three grades. Horses of the first-class could be purchased for 100 to 120 tankas, of the second for 80 to 90, of the third for 65 to 70 tankas, while ponies could be had for 10 to 25 tankas.² Great care was taken to ensure the supply of excellent horses at regulated prices. The brokers and the horse-dealers who used to reap large profits by buying horses at cheap rates and selling them at higher rates in the black markets were sternly dealt with—they were deported to distant provinces and imprisoned.³ With the elimination of middlemen the cattle market was well brought under control. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn once in 40 days or two months used to send for the horse-dealers and also their horses, and thoroughly examined their prices and compared these with the market rates. If any one reported that the horse-dealers were demanding higher prices for the horses than the tariff rates, the dealers were severely punished.³ A milch cow could be had for 3 or 4 tankas and a buffalo for 10 or 12 tankas. Sheep could be had for 10 or 12 or 14 jitals. The price of a maid servant ranged from 5 to 40 tankas. A handsome slave could be had for 20 or 30 tankas, and servants for 10 or 15 tankas.⁴

GENERAL MERCHANDISE

'ALĀ'-UD-DĪN regulated the prices of nearly all commodities needed by the masses. It is surprising to notice that the prices of even insignificant commodities were regulated such as caps, combs, needles, besides sugarcane, vegetables, bread, roast meat, reori, ḥalwa, yakhnī, etc.⁵

1. Barani, 311.

2. *Idem*, 313.

3. *Idem*, 314.

4. *Idem*, 314-15.

5. *Idem*, 316.

Severe punishments were inflicted on those who violated the tariff laws. The Sultān used to send his slaves to the market to bring various commodities and thus checked the market rates.

SUCCESSFUL WORKING OF THE PRICE CONTROL SYSTEM

VARIOUS factors contributed to the success of 'Alā'ud-Dīn's price control system. Ya'qūb, the controller of markets, was a strict disciplinarian. Those who violated the tariff laws were severely punished: they were mercilessly beaten, flesh was cut off from their haunches, and they were also fined and imprisoned. There was an efficient espionage system. But it was not merely by a reign of terror that the system was enforced. Steps of a scientific nature were taken, by controlling supply, transport and demand, the State succeeded in stabilising prices of commodities. But whatever policy was adopted or whatever measures were put into force, no lasting success could have been achieved without the whole-hearted co-operation of the whole body of the community. The efficiency of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's price control system was primarily due to the fact that the country prospered under his despotic but benign rule. Great progress was made in nearly every department of life. The Mongol danger was checked, the policy of imperialism was successfully carried out so as to establish Muslim power throughout the length and breadth of the country, the State was secularised, and prices of commodities were stabilised. Poets like Amīr Khusro and Mīr Ḥassan Dehlwī shed lustre on the court. Shaikh Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliya—one of the greatest mediæval saints of India—lived in the time of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn. According to Sir J. Marshall, 'Alā'-ud-Dīn was "the author of buildings of unexampled grace and nobility." 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's government, narrow though its basis was, was rich in character and ability, and that mainly explains why an illiterate mediæval despot succeeded in successfully tackling the difficult problem of price control, the complexity of which has almost baffled even the highly organised modern government of India.

DHARAM PAL.

THE MINSTRELS OF THE GOLDEN AGE OF ISLAM

(Continued from Issue No. 3, July 1943)

II

(P. 188) STORIES OF THE [‘ABBASID] MUSICIANS

HĀRŪN ar-Rashīd [the Caliph, d. 809] had a company of musicians. Among them [of the first rank] were Ibrāhīm al-Mausīlī, and Ibn-Jāmi‘ as-Sahmī, and Mukhāriq, and another rank beneath them among whom were Zalzal, and ‘Amr al-Ghazzāl,¹ and ‘Alawaihi. And he [also] had a wind instrumentalist (*zāmir*) named Barṣaumā.² And Ibrāhīm [al-Mausīlī] was the greatest of them in versatility in singing (*ghinā’*), and Ibn-Jāmi‘ was the sweetest of them in note (*naghma*).

And [Hārūn] ar-Rashīd said to Barṣaumā one day, “What is your opinion of Ibn-Jāmi‘?” Then he said, “O, Commander of the Faithful, what is my opinion about honey which, wherever I taste it, is good.” He [Hārūn] said, “And what about Ibrāhīm al-Mausīlī?” He said, “He is a garden in which are gathered fruits and aromatic plants.” He said, “And what about ‘Amr al-Ghazzāl?” He said, “He is beautiful of countenance, O, Commander of the Faithful.”³

And Ibrāhīm [al-Mausīlī, d. 804] was the first to beat rhythm (*iqā’*) with a wand (*qaḍīb*).⁴ And Yaḥyā ibn-Muḥammad related, he said, “Whilst we were at the [palace] gate of [the Caliph Hārūn] ar-Rashīd, awaiting permission to enter, the porter came out and said to us, ‘The Commander of the Faithful sends you Greeting.’ . . . So we went away. Then Ibrāhīm [al-Mausīlī] said to us, ‘You must come to my dwelling.’ . . . So we set off with him. Then he entered a house. I had never seen a nobler [house] than it, nor a more spacious. And there were carpets of silk trimmed with ermine. Then he sat down and called for a great bowl of wine (*nabīdh*) and said :—

Let me quaff in the great : Verily I am great.
Only the small drink from the small.

1. That this musician is placed in the first rank here may be of some importance, because he is only casually mentioned in the *Aghānī*.

2. See Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, 131.

3. See the story in the *Aghānī*, 12, 69, where the comparisons have a different colouring.

4. This is incorrect. The *qaḍīb* was used by several minstrels at a much earlier period. See *Aghānī*, I, 95 : VII, 179.

Then he said :—

Let me drink coffee in a great cup,
And leave water, all of it, to asses.

So he drank of it. Then he gave orders, and it was filled again, and he said to us, 'Verily the horses do not drink unless with whistling.'¹ He then commanded slave-girls to surround the house, and their voices resembled birds in a thicket answering one another."

Ishāq ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Mausilī [d. 850] says: "When the Caliphate passed to al-Mā'mūn (818), he waited twenty months without hearing a particle of music (*ghinā*),² and the first who sang in his presence was Abū-'Isā [ibn-Hārūn].³ Then he continued listening to music, and [one day] he enquired concerning me.⁴ And someone who envied me [at court] slandered me and said, 'This is a man who is haughty towards the Caliph.' And al-Mā'mūn said, 'What a long time he retains his haughtiness.' And he [the Caliph] ceased to speak about me, and everyone who was associated with me treated me rudely by reason of what had appeared of his [al-Mā'mūn's] opinion [of me].

This [state of things] continued until one day there came to me 'Alawaihi.⁵ And he said to me, 'Will you permit me to mention you [to the Caliph] today, for I shall be with him today?' I said, 'No, but sing to him this poetry, for it will induce him to ask you whence you obtained it. Then there will be opened to you what you desire, and the answer [which you will give] will be easier than the first suggestion [of yours].' So 'Alawaihi went away. Then, when the court had assembled, he sang him [the Caliph] the verses which I had authorized him, and they were :—

O thou watercourse, closed have been thy courses.
Is there no way to thee which is not closed

To a thirsty one, parched until there is no life in him,
Scared from the road to water, driven away?

Then, when al-Mā'mūn heard him he said, 'Woe be to thee, to whom [belong] these [verses]?' He ['Alawaihi] said, 'O Sir, to a slave of thy slaves: You have shunned him and rejected him.' He [al-Mā'mūn] said, '[Do you mean] Ishāq?' He said, 'Yes.' He said, 'Let him be brought immediately'. . . . Then the messenger came to me, and I went to him [the Caliph]. And when I entered he said, 'Draw near.'

1. See *Islamic Culture* (1943), p. 278.

2. The "twenty months" did not start from this date (813) apparently. It seems to have lasted from August 819, when he entered Baghdad, until April 821.

3. He was the favourite son of the Caliph Hārūn, and frequently took part in the court music. Al-Mā'mūn had great affection for him. Another musician, Muḥammad ibn-al-Hārith, is also claimed to have been the first to break the musical silence of al-Mā'mūn's court.

4. Although Ishāq had been famous at the court of Hārūn and al-Amin, and had probably served the usurper Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Mahdī, it was probably on account of his connection with the two latter, that he was out of favour with al-Mā'mūn.

5. See Farmer, *op. cit.*, 123 ('Allūyah).

Then I drew near, and he saluted me out of respect. Then I reclined with him [on a couch], and he patted me with his hand, and showed me honour and kindness which, had a familiar friend displayed it, would have rejoiced me."

He [the narrator] said :— There informed me Yūsuf ibn-'Umar al-Madinī, he said, al-Ḥārith ibn-'Abdallāh informed me, he said, I heard Ishāq al-Mausilī saying [as follows],—" One night, 'Ath'ath al-Mughannī¹ was present at a night gathering of [Caliph Ḥārūn] ar-Rashīd. And he ['Ath'ath] was an eloquent man, well educated, and in addition was singing poetry with a beautiful voice.² And they [the assembly] talked about the delicacy of the poetry of the people of al-Madīna. Then one of his companions chanted (*anshada*) verses of Ibn-al-Dumaina, where he says³ :—

And I remember the days of the Ḥimā, then I bend
Over my heart⁴ for fear that it should burst.

But the evenings of the Ḥimā will not return
To thee. So let thine eyes shed tears.

My right eye⁵ wept when I scolded it

For being senseless. After sober-mindedness, they both poured.

And ar-Rashīd was excited to admiration by the delicacy of the verses. Then 'Ath'ath said to him, ' O, Commander of the Faithful, this is urban poetry. it has been softened by (p. 189) the water of the 'Aqīq⁶ until it has become soft and pure, and has become rarer than air. But, if the Commander of the Faithful wishes, I will chant to him what is more delicate than this, and sweeter, and firmer, and stronger, by a man of the people of the bedouin.' He [the Caliph] said, ' Verily I will it.' He ['Ath'ath] said, ' And shall I cantillate (*tarannum*) in it, O, Commander of the Faithful ? ' He said, ' You may.' Then he sang (*ghanna*) to [the verses of] Jarīr :—

Those who went out in the morning, with thy heart left
A trickle in thy eye, which is ever flowing.

They let their tears subside and said to me,
What hast thou met of love, and what have we met ?

They came back in the evening in a way disliked.

When they went astray, we went astray, and when they were on the right path,
we were on it.

Then they cast them⁷ on the breadth of the desert.

If they were to die, we should die, and if they live, we live.

1. The text has 'Abthar عثر but the correct reading is 'Ath'ath عثث. The latter is mentioned in the *Aghānī*, xiii, 28-31, [and also in Ibn-Abī Ṭaifūr, *Kitāb Baghdad*, 194.—Dr. Krenkow]

2. The text has على الشعر "lofty in poetry" but غنى الشعر "singing poetry" is more likely.—Dr. Krenkow].

3. The verses are not found in his *Diwān*. [Indeed, the author is al-Ḥumayr ibn 'Abdallāh al-Qushairī, and the verses are to be found in the *Kitāb al-Amālī* of al-Qālī (I, 190-91).—Dr. Krenkow].

4. Lit. "my liver."

5. "My left eye" according to al-Qālī.

6. The 'Aqīq of al-Madīna. See *Islamic Culture* (1943), p. 279.

7. i.e., the camels.

He [the Caliph] said, 'You are right, O 'Ath'ath,' and he bestowed a robe of honour upon him and rewarded him."

And there was to Ibrāhīm al-Mauṣilī a black slave named Ziryāb [Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn-Nāfi'],¹ and he was predestined for singing" (*ghinā*). Ibrāhīm had taught him,² and sometimes he [Ziryāb] would be present with him at the court of ar-Rashīd, singing in it. Then he migrated to Qairawān to the Aghlabids, and entered into [the service of] Ziyādat Allāh [d. 837]. And [one day] he sang to him some verses of 'Antara al-Fawāris, where he says :—³

Because my mother is a raven [black] one

Of the people of Ḥām you reproach me.

But verily I am light-handed with the white points of the swords,

And the brown lances if you come at me.

And had it not been for thy flight on the day of battle,

I should have led thee in the war, or you would have led me.

Then Ziyādat Allāh was angry and commanded that the back of his neck be smacked, and he put him out. Then he said to him, "If I find you in any part of my dominions after three days, I shall cut off your head." So he [Ziryāb] crossed the sea [in the year 821] to Muslim Spain [al-Andalus], and he was with the Amīr 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn-al-Ḥakam [d. 852].⁴

[p. 190] And Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Mahdī [d. 839], and it is he who is called Ibn-Shakla,⁵ was clever, learned in the days of the people, a consummate poet, and he was composing [verses for music?] excellently. And it was related concerning Ibrāhīm that he had opposed [the Caliph] al-Mā'mūn, and [in the year 813] had proclaimed himself [as Caliph]. Then [in 819] al-Mā'mūn defeated him, but [subsequently] forgave him [his perfidy]. After al-Mā'mūn vanquished him, he [Ibrāhīm.] said :—

I have gone out of the world, and it had departed from me.

Fate flung me away from it, and I fling it away from me.

Then if I weep over myself, I weep for a soul that is precious ;

And if I hold it back, I hold it back because I am covetous of it.

Then when the gates of favour were opened to him with al-Mā'mūn, he sang them before him.⁷ And al-Mā'mūn said to him, "Well done, by

1. Farmer, *Hist.*, 128.

2. According to al-Maqqari (*Analectes*, ii, 83), his teacher was Iṣḥāq al-Mauṣilī, on account of whose jealousy Ziryāb was forced to leave Baghdād. This probably accounts for the silence of al-Iṣfahānī concerning Ziryāb.

3. The verses are not found in his *Dīwān*, and I believe that they are not by him. [They may be by Nusaib.—Dr Krenkow].

4. i.e., as a prisoner.

5. See Ibn-Khaldūn, *Prolegomena* (De Slane edit.), II, 361.

6. Shakla was his mother's name. It is vocalized thus in the *Qāmūs* and in the new edition of the *Aghānī*, x, 95. Cf. Tabarī. [Perhaps *Shukla* is more correct.—Dr. Krenkow].

7. The lines in the *Aghānī*, IX, 67, are slightly different.

Allāh, O Commander of the Faithful!" Then Ibrāhīm arose in fear at that [remark] and said, "You have slain me, by Allāh, O Commander of the Faithful. Nay, by Allāh, I shall not sit down again until you name me by my [proper] name." He [al-Mā'mūn] said, "Sit, O Ibrāhīm." And after this he was the most acceptable of men with al-Mā'mūn. He was making him his boon companion and night fellow, and he was singing to him.¹

And he [Ibrāhīm] related to him [al-Mā'mūn] one day [this story]: "O Commander of the Faithful, whilst I was with your father one day on the way to Mecca, I was separated from my companions and found myself alone. And I became thirsty, and began seeking my companions. Then I came to a well and, lo, there was an Abyssinian sleeping by it. Then I said to him, 'O sleeper arise and draw [water] for me.' Then he said, 'If you are thirsty, let down and draw for yourself.' Then a ditty (*ṣaut*) came into my head and I cantillated (*tarannum*) it, and it was:—

Shroud me if I die in the smock of 'urwā,
And draw water for me from the well of 'Urwa.²

Then, when he heard, he rose up pleased and delighted, and said, 'By Allāh, this is the well of 'Urwa and this is his grave.' Then I wondered, O Commander of the Faithful, at what had come into my mind in that place. Then he [the Abyssinian] said, 'I will draw for you if you will sing to me.' I said, 'Alright.' And I did not cease singing to him whilst he was drawing the rope until he gave me to drink and had watered my animal. Then he said, 'I will point out to you the place of the army on condition that you sing to me.' I said, 'Alright.' Then he did not cease running before me whilst I sang until we came upon the army. Then he departed. And I came to ar-Rashīd and told him all this. Then he laughed.

Then [when] we returned from our pilgrimage, he [the Abyssinian] met me whilst I was balancing ar-Rashīd on the camel. And when he saw me he said, 'A singer, by Allāh.' It was said to him, 'Do you say this to the brother of the Commander of the Faithful?' He said, 'Aye, by the life of Allāh, he has already sung to me, and he gave me cream, cheese and dates.' Then I ordered him a present and a robe, and ar-Rashīd ordered him a robe also." And al-Mā'mūn laughed and he said, 'Sing me the ditty (*ṣaut*).' So I sang it to him. And he was enchanted with it and [after this] would not ask for any other.

Mukhāriq [d.c. 845]³ and 'Alawaihi [d.c. 850] had altered the old [music] of the Arabs,⁴ all of it, and had introduced Persian notes (*nigham*)⁵

1. Cf. this scene as depicted in the *Alf-Laila-wa-Laila* (Calcutta edit.), II, 138: Burton, II, 512. Here Ibrāhīm al-Mauṣillī who died in 804, is made responsible for the arrest of Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Mahdī in 825-26.

2. The Bī'r 'Urwa is in the 'Aqīq according to Yāqūt, [and the lines are by as-Sarī ibn-'Abd al-Rahmān, the grandson of Hassān ibn Thābit.—Dr. Krenkow].

3. See Farmer, *Music: the priceless Jewel* (1942), p. 8.

4. The scale of the Old Arabian School was the Pythagorean. See Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, II, 46.

5. This refers to the scale of the *ṭunbūr k̲h̲urasānī*. See my article in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, III, 753.

And when the Hijāzian came to them with the *thaqil auwal* music (*ghinā*),¹ he said [to the Irāqians], "Your music requires bleeding."² And the name of 'Alawaihi was Yūnus. [He was] a freedman of the Umayyads.³

Zalzal [d. 791] was the best player among the people of [instruments of] strings. And there was not before him, nor after him, his equal.⁴ And he was not singing but was only playing [the lute] for Ibrāhīm [al-Mausilī], and Ibn-Jāmi', and Barṣaumā. And of his music (*ghinā*) concerning al-Mā'mūn is :-

O, only al-Mā'mūn is to the people a support,
Distinguishing between right and wrong.

Allāh has seen 'Abdallāh to be the best of His servants,
So He made him King, and Allāh knows best His servants.

Abū-Ja'far al-Baghdādī says, "There informed me 'Abdallāh-ibn Muḥammad, the secretary of [General] Bughā,⁵ on the authority of Abū-'Ikrama, he said, 'I went out one day to the principal mosque, and took with me some paper that I might write down on it some of what might be profitable from [the sayings of] the 'Ulamā',⁶ And I passed by the gateway of (p. 191) Abū-'Isā ibn-al-Mutawakkil, and lo! al-Masūd [the pandorist]⁷ was at the gate. And he was one of the ablest of men in singing (*ghinā*). Then he said, 'Whither are you going, O Abū-'Ikrama?' I said, 'To the principal mosque. Perhaps I shall profit in wisdom by it, which I shall write down.' Then he said, 'Come with us to Abū-'Isā.' Then I said, 'The like of Abū-'Isā, in his greatness and glory, does one go in to him without permission?' Then he said to the chamberlain, 'Tell the Prince that Abū-'Ikrama is here.' . . . Then it was no time before the pages came out, and they took me with them, and I entered into the palace. By Allāh, I had never seen a more handsome than it in construction, nor finer in carpeting, nor more beautiful in appearance.

Then when I entered, I looked at Abū-'Isā, and when he saw me he said to me, 'O hated one (*baghīd*), of what are you afraid? Sit down.' So I sat. Then he said, 'What is this paper in your hand?' I said, 'O

1. The *thaqil auwal* was one of the slow rhythms (*iqā'āt*) to which much of the old classical music of the Arabs was set.

2. Meaning that it was too full [of notes]. In the Old Arabian school, the octave contained twelve notes, whereas in this Persian scale of the *ṭunbūr khurasānī* there were eighteen.

3. See Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, 123.

4. This is confirmed by the *Aghānī*, v, 54.

5. Bughā was the name of two Turkish generals at Baghdād at this period, one named al-Kabīr (d. 862), and another named *ash-Sharābī* (d. 868). The latter was the murderer of al-Mutawakkil, the father of Abū-'Isā.

6. The Doctors of Theology. Abū-'Ikrama, the commentator of the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, was, however, not interested in theology.

7. The text has al-Muḥdūd (as in one place in the *Aghānī*, VIII, 167). He was better known as a pandorist, and Jaḥḥat al-Barmakī (d. 938) says that he was the foremost performer on the *ṭunbūr* in his day. *Al-Fihrist*, 145.

Sir, I brought it in case I should find anything of profit to write, and I hope that I shall attain my aim in this assembly.' So I remained for a time. Then we were brought food, and I had never seen more in quantity, nor better [in quality]. So we ate until it was time to depart.

And lo there were Zunain [al-Makkī],¹ and Dubais.² And they were the cleverest of people in singing (*ghinā*). Then I said, 'This is an assembly in which Allāh has gathered every good thing.' Then the meat was taken away and drink was served. And a slave-girl arose to help us to drink. I never saw finer than it [the wine] in any cup. I cannot describe it. Then I said, 'May Allāh magnify thee. How like is this [scene] to the saying of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī describing a slave-girl in whose hand was wine (*khamr*):—

Red [wine], pure, in spotless cup,
There hastens to us a beautiful maid of the nymphs of Paradise :

Graceful, bearing two choice things in her hands,
The purest of wine in the rarest of flacons.

And al-Masdūd, and Zunain, and Dubais were sitting [in the assembly], and there were not at that time more capable [performers] than these three in singing (*ghinā*). Then al-Masdūd began and sang :—

After that he rose, trailing his skirts.
With a dark moustache above the veil of pearls ;³
And he was perfect in beauty, and complete were his virtues ;
And his marvels were associated with invitation.
The rose glistened on the eglantine of his cheeks ;
And his torso was exulting, and his buttocks quivered.
I spoke to him with the eyelids, without articulation :
And his refusal was clear by what his eyebrows expressed.

Then he ceased, and Zunain sang :—

Love is sweet, but it is bitter in its results.
And a lover has a longing heart which is [ever] melting.
Ask Allāh to keep safely with his glances what he has given to my care.

On the day of departure, while the eyes were shedding tears
When I left, the impulse of passion was saying to me,
Be gentle with thine heart, what it is seeking is precious.

And he [then] said :—

I reproached it awhile, and when I saw
That my feeling grew in abjectness, his attitude became dignified,
I bonded in my breast an affection,
And left him in dumbness, not blaming him.

1. The text has زين but in the *Aghānī* (See Gudi's *Index*) he is registered under طين and طين.

2. Dubais is not mentioned in the *Aghānī*.

3. Meaning the lips covering the teeth.

Then he ceased, and Dubais sang :—

A full moon in human form, whom the stars encompass :
His forehead shining, and his moustache darkening.

If he promises one day, he will break it ;
Or if he were to speak with words one day, he will surely lie.

I offered him [wine], like blood from the jugular vein, pure :
Then he rose singing sweetly, his flanks swaying.

Abū-'Ikrama said, " Then I marvelled that they [all] sang to one melody (*lahn*) and one rhyme (*qāfiya*). Abū-'Isā said, ' Does any of this surprise you, O Abū-'Ikrama ? ' Then I said, ' O Sir, thanks are not commensurate to this.' Then the company sang according to this [plan] until the breaking up of the assembly. When al-Masūd sang, the [other] two men sang with the like [melody and rhyme] of what he sang.¹

(194 Abū-'Ikrama says, " By Allāh, beside whom there is no other god than He, I have been present at more assemblies than I can count, but I never saw the like of that [contest] until this day. Then Abū-'Isā ordered a handsome present for everyone and we departed. And if it had not been that Abū-'Isā had stopped them [singing], they would not have broken up."

III.

CONCLUSION

ONLY those who have experienced what music means to the peoples of the Islamic East can pay requisite heed to, and fully appreciate, these stories of the influence of music. To hear and see a vast audience murmur in hushed tones, or shout in wild ecstasy, the blessed word *Allāh*, when they are moved by music serious or exciting, as the case may be, is an unforgettable experience, a something which the generality of the stolid Occident fails to grasp. It is true that in Spain the affected auditor still shouts *Olé, olé*, when the vocal or digital dexterities of the *cantaores* or *tocaores* in the *cante honde* arouse his admiration, but his cry, although he little suspects it, is but a survival of the days of the Moors of al-Andalus, when those who applauded *mughannī* or *ālātī* exclaimed in rapture the true and glorious word, *Allāh*.

That music is a constant cheer, is the invariable theme in Arabic literature. Motion (*haraka*) is one of the reasons. That is why the *'Iqd* says that " music flows in the veins," because of the motion of the pulse

1. At this point the narrator gives the verses of twenty-nine songs (pp. 191-94), in which other melodies and rhymes were used. These were sung, as stated, by al-Masūd, Zunain, and Dubais in succession each trying to outdo his rivals. It may be interesting to note that the last song, quoted above, is in an uncommon rhyme, and there is not a single verse with this rhyme in the *basīṭ* metre in the *Aghānī*, [nor in the *Amālī* of al-Qaṣī, nor in the *Uyūn al-Akhbār* of Ibn-Qutaiba, nor in the *Diwān* of Abū-Nuwās, nor that of Ibn-al-Mu'tazz, nor that of Muslim ibn al-Walid.—Dr. Krenkow].

(*ḥarakat an-nabḍ*). "Yazīd ibn-'Abd al-Malik (d. 724) said one day, when the Persian lute (*barbat*) had been mentioned before him, 'Would that I knew what it is.' Then 'Uбайдallah ibn-'Abdallah ibn-'Utba ibn-Mas'ūd said to him, 'I will inform you what it is. It is hunchbacked,¹ lean of belly,² having four strings. If they [the strings] are moved (*ḥaraka*),³ no one can hear them save that his emotions are moved (*ḥaraka*) and he shakes his head [in *tempo*].'"⁴

Yet, besides solace, music can bring suffering. The beautiful story of the love-sick youth who died on hearing a *qaina* of the Caliph sing, may be read in the *'Iqd al-Farīd* in the section on *Those who Died or Fainted on Hearing a Song*.⁵ Similar stories are found in the *Alf-Laila-wa-Laila*, as in the tales of *The Three Unfortunates*, *The Lovers of al-Madīna*, and *The Ruined Man of Baghdād*.⁶

A physical explanation of the cause of this is given with naïveté in the *'Iqd* as follows. A man named Ṭarīfa came to a singer named Aiyūb and asked him to sing a verse of Imru'ul-Qais. The singer did so, and when it was finished Ṭarīfa fell prostrate on the ground. When questioned as to what happened he said: "By Allāh, there rose up from my foot something *hot*, and there went down from my head something *cold*. These met and collided, and I swooned."⁷

Another *qiṣṣa* from the same source speaks for itself. "Ishāq ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Mausīlī passed by a man who was fashioning a lute (*'ūd*). Then he said, 'For whom are you whetting this sword?'"⁸ One can therefore understand why such expressions as "kills with delight"⁹ and "killing charm,"¹⁰ in relation to music, came to be accepted in the Islamic East.¹¹

HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

(Concluded).

1. A reference to the convex back of the lute.

2. The *Iḥkām as-Ṣafā'* (10th cent.) says that the wood of the "belly" (lit. "face") of the lute should be "thin, hard, and light."

3. i.e., Struck with digits or plectrum.

4. *'Iqd*, III, 206.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Alf-Laila-wa-Laila* (Calcutta edit.), II, 439; III, 412; IV, 360. Burton's trans. III, 242; IV, 344: V, 375.

7. *'Iqd*, III, 199.

8. *Ibid.*, 206.

9. *Aghānī*, IX, 90.

10. Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, III, 28.

11. The text of the *'Iqd* used for the above translation is the Cairo edition, A.H. 1305.

THE CENTRAL STRUCTURE OF THE SULTANATE OF DELHI

ORIGIN AND THEORY OF KINGSHIP

IN spite of the fact that monarchy has had a long and varied existence in the Muslim State, to the Sharī'at it has always remained a non-legal institution. The Muslim State in Mediæval India has been popularly but inaccurately described as a theocracy. Nothing can be more misleading; the blunder arises from a misconception of the meaning of 'theocracy' and an utter ignorance of the true character of the empire of Delhi. In order to explain the degeneration from the theocratic 'Khilāfat' to the autocratic rule of the Muslim sovereigns, a reference to Islamic political theory and ideal is necessary.

Islam did not determine who should succeed the Prophet when he died, but successor was soon found to be an unavoidable necessity. After the Prophet, there sprang up the Caliphate, which was based upon election; but as the empire expanded, the system was changed to a mere ceremony of bai'at or submission. The circle of electors was gradually reduced from the leading men of the town to eleven, five, and even one, so much so that the sovereign could appoint his own successor. In order to reconcile the theory with the practice, Māwardī tried to justify this conclusion, and the relaxation in the principle of election led to the recognition of the right of the sovereign to inherit. However, the idea of the ultimate authority of the Muslim people did survive.

The first rulers were divine kings such as the Sassanians, who were regarded as "God among men." A full-fledged Sultanate, however, began with the Khwarazmian empire, and Maḥmūd of Ghazna was perhaps the first to assume the title of Sultān.¹ The non-recognition of the institution of monarchy bred curious but natural results. In the first place, all distinction between the king *de facto* and the king *de jure* was lost. Secondly, as there was no place for the Sultanate in Islamic political theory, there was consequently no provision for the devolution of the crown. The State could not be regarded as the property of the Sultān. The result was the interminable wars of succession, and an appeal to arms was in

1. *Siyāsat-Nāma* of Nizām-ul-Mulk Ṭūsī, p. 108.

fact the only possible way of solving the riddle. It was customary for the Sultān to nominate his heir either in his lifetime or on his death-bed; but the king's nominee was almost always rejected.¹ A strong claimant, of course, could with little difficulty find his way to the throne, and the Khāns, Maliks and Amīrs perforce made their submission to him, while the weak successors fell into the hands of the so-called electors, only to be set up and pulled down with the inevitable result of losing their heads. A formal ceremony of bai'at was, however, followed in each case.

The division of the State between Ghiyāthuddīn and his brother Shihābuddīn was neither sanctioned by Islamic law nor supported by any precedent. However, it evolved a principle that the State was the private property of the ruler. Mu'izzuddīn died without leaving any son to rule over his empire, and his Turkish slaves were the only heirs. On the other hand, the ruler of Fīrōz Koh found himself unable to impose his sovereignty upon the powerful Turkish Maliks. The death of Shihābuddīn left the problem unsolved. Sovereigns were required to form new theories or to reaffirm the time-honoured ideas regarding the institution of kingship.

The ruler was looked upon with awe and reverence, and kingship was regarded as an indispensable institution. There was a choice between monarchy and anarchy, and the people wisely chose the former. Muslim society had undergone a great change, and it was a period of an "alluring materialistic civilisation and not of faith." The Muslim law or Shari'at came to be regarded as impracticable. With the fall of Madain, and the transfer of the seat of government to Baghdad, Persian ideas began to flow in, and in course of time completely changed the face of Islam. The conquerors fell an easy prey to the culture of the conquered, and the old doctrine of Persian Imperialism crept into the body-politic. Persian ideas and institutions were adopted wholesale; the government of the empire, the administration of the various departments, the personality of the ruler, the State ceremonials, dress, and the royal symbols were modelled upon Persian lines. These ideas spread from Baghdad to Ghaznin and other parts of the Muslim world, and likewise made their way into the Indian plains. Of all these ideas, the most significant was the theory of the Divine Right of the Persian kings. "The virtue of divinity² was associated with the office rather than with the person of the Sultān. Excluding the functions of a prophet, it was repeatedly asserted that "

1. Qutbuddīn Aiybek nominated Iltutmish to the throne of Delhi, but the Maliks elevated Ārām Shāh. Sultān Iltutmish made Raḡiyya his heir-apparent, but the Maliks raised Ruknuddīn Fīrōz Shāh to the throne of Delhi. Again Balban nominated Kai-Khusro, but Kaiqubād succeeded him at the instigation of the Maliks.

2. It is related about Humāyūn that on the occasion of public assembly, a curtain was hung between him and the audience; and when it was drawn, the gathering exclaimed with one voice, "Behold the illumination of the Divine Being." Abu'l-Faḡl made Akbar *Inṣān-i-Kāmil*—"Perfect Man."

there is no work as great and noble as the task of government."¹ Kingship is a great blessing, and as the highest office is the creation of God, and is received from Him alone, a king is a representative of God on earth,² and the heart of the king reflects the glory of God. "The Creator displays his inner richness by raising at every stage a person from among the created, endows him with all the accomplishments befitting sovereigns and entrusts him with the task of government, so that the people may lead a happy and prosperous life under his just and equitable rule."³ A king must, therefore, feel the importance and significance of the glory and grandeur thus conferred upon him and must be grateful to God for this great honour.⁴ "He must seek God's pleasure by doing virtuous acts, which consist in administering absolute justice to the people—a means of the strengthening of the empire and a way for his own salvation."⁵

A king must be brave, enterprising, just and benevolent. He should be "true to his army, benevolent to the subjects, kind to the oppressed, courteous to the virtuous, and an abstainer from the evil-doers."⁶ He should be neither sweet-speaking nor very harsh. To retain his kingship he must maintain his prestige. Kingly dignity disappears on account of friendship and familiarity and the result is vice, immorality, and sinning throughout his kingdom.⁷ Kingly glory and the terror of authority contribute more than mere chastisement to the establishment of a strong and stable government. His society should be composed of the virtuous, faithful, wise, and sagacious people. He should never grant audience or give posts to the humble or low-born people.⁸ The primary duty of a king is to maintain peace and order in his dominion and to protect and patronize the faith.⁹

He must keep himself well informed of the condition of his provinces and the doings of his governors.¹⁰ But he should be still more particular about his personal security, and keep his guards and servants satisfied. "My first advice to you," said Bughrā Khān to his son, "is this, consider Empire as dear but your own life as dearer; for if life is in danger, what is the use of this world?"¹¹ Secondly, hesitate to kill Malikis and Amīrs,

1. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī* of Dīyā' Barnī, p. 27.

چون تو شدی سایه یزدان پاک سایه نشان باش برین مشت خاک

2. Amīr Khusro in his *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, p. 205, addresses the Sultān as "Shadow of God."

3. *Siyāsat-Nāma*, p. 6.

4. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī* of Dīyā' Barnī, pp. 70, 71.

5. *Siyāsat-Nāma*, p. 8.

6. MSS. *Adāb-ul-Ḥarb*, p. 50a.

7. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī* of Dīyā' Barnī, p. 34.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

دولت دنیا چو مسلم ترا است جانب دین کوش که آن هم ترا است

9. *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, p. 206.

10. Dīyā' Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 97; and *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, p. 205.

11. Dīyā' Barnī, p. 152.

but convert your enemies into friends by means of liberality, sagacity, and kindness."¹ The three essentials of kingship are the army, the treasury, and the nobles ;² the means of success are justice, beneficence, pomp and show.

Such was the theory and practice during the mediæval period. The position was not acceptable to a number of true followers of Islam such as theologians and Šūfis, who broke away from the monarchy and disassociated themselves from the corrupt condition of Muslim society. The Sultān of Delhi was an autocrat, bound by no laws and subject to no control ; the subjects had no rights but only obligations. The Hindu theories of Dharma and Karma, teaching contentment and the rule of the upper classes over the lower, in a way strengthened rather than weakened these ideals ; and, as a matter of fact, the Hindu political system gave way at the first approach of the Muslim arms.

The State was based on force ; the sovereign upheld his power in the face of grave dangers ; all land belonged to the crown ; and the imperial treasury was the personal property of the Sultān. Formally, the ruler showed respect for religion, and employed under his service some theologians (Dastār-bandān) as Qādis and Shaikh-ul-Islām. Institutions such as Bai'at, Khuṭba, Waqf (endowment) and Khairāt (charities) marked outward shows; mosques were built and Jihāds were waged. Yet the unflinching power of the Maliks, the force of local customs and traditions, and above all the powerful influence of mystics and divines kept the sovereign in alarm. The ambitions of the Sultāns of Delhi, like those of the Sassanian monarchs of Persia, were to build lofty and magnificent palaces, to hold grand assemblies, to conquer the world, to accumulate vast hoards of treasure, to bestow gifts upon their favourites, to carry on war to uphold their supremacy, and to maintain a large establishment of attendants and a harem. The position of the Sultān was sometimes so secure that 'Alā'uddīn and Muhammad Tughlaq contemplated founding a religion, and Akbar actually created a new faith. Acts of cruelty, tortures, and even massacres were practised under dictates of policy, extravagant and wasteful expenditure became the rule, the Shari'at was neglected, and the will of the sovereign became the law of the State. Such was the un-Islamic nature of the Sultanate of Delhi.

THE EMPEROR

THE safety of the empire rested upon the efficient management of the central government. The working of an autocracy mainly depended upon the personality of the autocrat. The personal character of the sovereign

1. *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, p. 204.

از طلب صحبت یزدان پاک صحبت آلوده رها کنی خاک

2. *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, p. 208.

largely contributed to the success or failure not only of the administrative system but to the stability of the empire as a whole. He ruled only so long as he succeeded ; one little disaster, a chance defeat, an unexpected act of disloyalty on the part of his Amīrs, and the whole fabric of the State broke down. The royal throne was no bed of roses ; the iron hand alone could maintain its hold while the weak rulers were set up and pulled down at will. Such was the case with the successors of Sultān Shamsuddīn Iltutmish. The imperial throne was insecure. Dangers beset it on every side, and the emperor had to "live in an atmosphere of perpetual suspicion and distrust." The Assassin's dagger, palace intrigues, and the disloyalty of his officers and close relatives kept the king constantly alarmed. The heretic leader Nūr Turk conspired against Islam in the reign of Sultāna Rāḍiyya.¹ The Nā'ib-i-Mulk Malik Ikhtiyāruddīn aspired to the throne, and was consequently put to death by Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Behrām Shāh.² The same sovereign had to face another conspiracy of State officials, and an attempt to subdue it resulted in an open revolt against the Sultān.³ The Vizier Mohaddhab-ud-dīn also entertained high ambitions by establishing the Naubat and stationing an elephant at the gate of his mansion, but his designs were doomed to failure.⁴

The position of a strong ruler was nevertheless impregnable. An autocrat of unbounded energies born with indomitable resolution could successfully hold in check the forces of anarchy and confusion. "The one great virtue the subjects admired in their ruler was strength ; the one fault, they could never forgive him was weakness."⁵

Immediately below the sovereign came his Maliks and Amīrs. They usually supported the Sultān in case he was powerful, but usurped his functions when he was weak, and played the role of "king-makers." A noble usually started his career as a slave of the Sultān or of any other noble, and on a graduated scale of promotion rose to the position of Amīr. His life, titles, and royal grants were at the mercy of the reigning monarch. The official status of a noble was determined by his Shughl (office) ; Khatāb (title), Aqṭā' (land), or Marātib (privileges at the court). The State could not tolerate his independence ; he could either remain as an ally of the Crown or else a rebel. The Turkish aristocracy were of great assistance in upholding the Turkish domination, yet when the sovereign was weak, they plotted one against the other.

The emperor⁶ was the fountain of all authority. The theory of the "Divine Right of Kings" was still in the making. He was regarded as the

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 190.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

5. Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb (the Third Oriental Conference of 1924, p. 311).

6. Ḍiyā' Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 70, Mu'izzuddīn Behrām Shāh was styled ناصر امير المؤمنين "an ally of the lord of the faithful." Iltutmish "يمين خليفة الله ناصر امير المؤمنين" the right hand of caliph of Allah and an ally of the lord of the faithful." Nāṣiruddīn:— "قسيم امير المؤمنين" "the sider with the lord of the faithful."

"Shadow of God on Earth" (Zill'ullāh),¹ or Lord's Deputy (Nā'ib-i-Aizad),² and was supposed to possess divine qualities and an "inspired mind."³ The emperor was, in actual practice, the supreme ruler of the State, the highest court of appeal, the supreme legislator, and the commander-in-chief of the royal forces. There was a wide gap between theory and practice; the Sharī'at was to be his guide, but actually his word was law. The Sultān in his public life had to maintain at least an outward show of respect for the fundamentals of Islam. Balban impressed upon his subjects the duty of being "pious Muslims," which enhanced his prestige as a ruler.

The rulers of the "Early Sultanate Period" could not, as a matter of fact, depend upon the prestige of an imperial family, high birth, or noble lineage. They sprang from the people, all of them were men of humble origin; and, detached from their families at a tender age, they were even ignorant of their parentage. They rose to positions of power and sovereignty through sheer force of merit, strenuous efforts, or through the slow gradations of office; and their sole claim to the throne lay in their power to hold it in the face of clever rivals. To strengthen their position, attempts were made to secure patents of sovereignty from the 'Abbasid caliphs. The principle that the crown should be confined to the members of the royal family was applied to the Persian House of Sassan, but the case was different in Mediæval India. Sultān Iltutmish and Balban,⁴ however, made attempts to monopolise the imperial throne for their respective families; nevertheless, kingship remained a competitive and elective office. Ambitious and enterprising persons aspired to the throne, at the cost of their lives if they failed to achieve their end, and history provides numerous instances of this kind.

The people, however, regarded monarchy as a necessary and desirable institution for the solution of their social and political problems. Mediæval India knew no rules of succession. It was customary for the Sultān to appoint his Maliks and Amirs, and they chose the new sovereign by means of a direct or indirect election or by an appeal to arms. The ceremony of vowing allegiance (Bai'at) had survived from the Ommayyad caliphs, and the people played an important part at the time of succession. They approved the candidature and paid submission to the new ruler.

ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES OF THE EMPEROR

THE Emperor was the centre of all authority; in him resided the supreme powers of the State, and consequently his administrative duties

1. Tughlaq Nāma of Amīr Khusro, p. 79.

2. Khudr Khān Diwal Rani of Amīr Khusro, p. 17.

علاء دین و دبا شاه والا بقدرت نائب ایزد تالی

3. Amīr Khusro: *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*, p. 196.

4. See Diyā' Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 120 to 123.

were multifarious. It was physically impossible for the Sultān to look after the business of government all by himself, and the burden of the State could only be lessened by delegating to his subordinate officers such powers as might conveniently be exercised by them on his behalf. The emperor, however, kept a vigilant watch over the affairs of the State, so much so that no important work could be done without his approval or knowledge. Out of necessity, he established an efficient system of spies to equip himself with all the information regarding the behaviour of his subjects, governors, Maliks, Amīrs and officials. It is interesting to recall how a slave of the Sultān served under every Amīr to watch his activities and to inform his master accordingly.¹ "Curious as it may seem, the fact is, nevertheless, true, that mediæval governments interfered more with the life of the people than any government is likely to do today."²

The Sultān was expected to be munificent, liberal, and enterprising, well-versed in horsemanship and archery; and also noted for his commanding presence and manly bearing. He was further supposed to be a patron of letters and a benefactor of his subjects. He conferred titles upon his Maliks and officials. The poets recited Qaṣīdas in his honour³ and received handsome rewards; and foreign travellers expected a hospitable reception at his court. The Sultān gave all possible assistance to the people in times of famine.

A strong and efficient Sultān was certainly an absolute despot. But the reigns of weak successors were marked by the rivalry of opposing Maliks, who desperately quarrelled for power and predominance, and introduced a régime of blood and terror.

THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL (MAJLIS-I-KHĀṢ)

A STRONG family likeness marks the administrative organization of all the autocratic States. The central government of India in those days was modelled on the lines of the "monarchies of Persia,"⁴ which were, in their turn, "deeply influenced by the Roman conceptions of government and law." Many resemblances are therefore to be noticed between the governments of the Roman emperors and those of the Sultāns of Delhi.

The Sultān was the final executive authority for all State affairs. Yet in obedience to the time-honoured custom, he summoned a council of the highest officers and allies⁵ (Majlis-i-Khāṣ), to discuss the more important problems, executive, legislative, and financial. The Council had no

1. See Dīyā Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, pp. 120 to 123.

2. Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb's article in the third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924, p. 312.

3. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 64; Firishta, p. 67 and Badayūnī, p. 69.

4. Dīyā Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 26.

5. وزیر صاحب تدبیر ملوک رائے زن را برائے زدن رائے حاضر گردانید. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ*, p. 99.

constitutional or legal powers but was merely a consultative body,¹ and its meetings were held in secret. Nevertheless, it was a thing of reality and indirectly held in check the great powers of the autocrat. The Sultān was bound to act according to its unanimous verdict on a certain question, and its joint advice went a great way towards moulding the policy of the emperor. A monarch, who kept matters confidential, was naturally looked upon with an eye of suspicion.

Side by side with this, there was another council called Majlis-i-Khilwat² (Privy Council), to which only the most trusted officials and servants were invited.³ The four ministers generally attended.

The Sultān frequently held a Majlis-i-'Aish (Convivial Assembly), to which persons of his taste were alone invited. The minor officers and servants attached to the Assembly were as follows:—

Khāṣa-dār⁴ (personal attendant); Sāqī-i-Khāṣ⁵ (personal cup-bearer); Tasht-dār⁶ (keeper of the royal basin); Sharab-dār⁷ (keeper of drinkables); Jāma-dār⁸ (keeper of the royal robe); Dawāt-dār⁹ (keeper of the writing-case); Chāshnīgīr¹⁰ (controller of the royal kitchen); Nā'ib-i-Chāshnīgīr¹¹ (assistant controller); Sho'la-dār¹² (keeper of the torch), he supervised the lighting arrangements of the palace; Yūzbān¹³ (keeper of the hunting leopards); Bāzdār¹⁴ (falconer); Sar-i-chatr-dār¹⁵ (head of the State canopy-bearers); Behla-dār¹⁶ (bearer of the royal purse); Mehtar-i-Farrāsh¹⁷ (chief of carpet-spreaders); and Muṣallidār (keeper of the royal carpet for saying prayers); Mohr-dār¹⁸ (keeper of the royal seal), he fixed seals upon food and drink.

The custom of holding courts or durbars is very ancient among the royal traditions of Persia, and it came to be established with the advent of

1. زان همه کن و لیک پرش کارا همه کس کن. Amīr Khusrō's *Nuh Sepahr*, p. 165.

2. It is different from the Majlis-i-Khāṣ as described above. *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, April, 1935, p. 97 confuses the Majlis-i-Khilwa with Majlis-i-Khāṣ.

3. سلطان جلال الدین فرمود تا مجلس خلوت سازند و در آن مجلس چند رانی زان مایک و چند محرمان مایک را طلب شد. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 224.

4. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 282.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 250, 251.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 257.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, p. 242.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 248, 249.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 254, 255.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Mohd. Husain, p. 163).

Muslim rule in India. The Majlis-i-‘Ām¹ was radically different from the Imperial Council. It was a public court. It was the highest administrative body, where the Sultān transacted all the business of the State. The emperor sat upon the throne with an air of dignity and authority. The Chatr (royal parasol) and Dūrbāsh² (royal baton) were regarded as symbols of royal power. Red and black canopies were together regarded³ as insignia of royalty and elephants and naubat⁴ (beating of drums) were the exclusive privileges of the emperor.⁵ The name of the sovereign was read in the Khuṭba and inscribed on the coinage. Green or red canopies and robes of honour⁶ were bestowed upon the Maliks and Amīrs as a token of personal distinction.

The emperor sat upon the throne on a high-raised platform. Behind him stood a body-guard of slaves with drawn swords, a police-officer, the head-executioner, the royal purse-bearer, the commander of the forces, sergeants, head-swordsmen, wrestlers, and lastly horses and elephants, glorifying the right and left wings of the army.⁷ In front of the throne stood the Amīr-i-Hājib (Lord Chamberlain), who maintained law and order in the court. The Amīr-i-Hājib was assisted by the Nā’ib-i-Amīr-i-Hājib⁸ (Deputy Lord Chamberlain) and an army⁹ of Chamberlains called Hujjāb.

The ceremonies of the court were “humiliating and servile.” Sijdah (prostration), Nadhar (an offer to the Sultān), and Nithār (shower of

1. Dya’ Barni, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi*, p. 30.

2. The Indian Dūrbāsh, like its Persian predecessor, was a wooden staff branching at the top and plated with gold. It was used to keep people at a distance.

3. Sultān Nāṣiruddīn had two canopies, one black and the other red. See *Tabāqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 318. The standards of Ilutnīsh were black and red—*Tabāqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 179. ‘Alā’uddin also had a black canopy.

شود سایه گستر چترسایه MSS. *Nuh Sepahr* of Amīr Khusro, p. 49

چتر با چتر سپه دیدش فلک جفت *Miftāh-ul-Futūh*, p. 21.

4. ‘Naubat’ does not mean ‘music’ (see *Journal of Indian History*, April 35, p. 99).

5. روان کن سوئے حضرت بے کم و کاست علامتہائی سلطانی کہ انجا است

ز چتر و دورباش و یل و رایت کہ حکم ما بران دادت ولایت

‘Alā’-ud-dīn, being displeased with his son Khidr Khān, demanded the return of all the insignia of royalty—canopy, Dūrbāsh, elephants, and standards: *Khuṭr Khān Duwal Rāi* of Amīr Khusro, p. 239.

6. Ruknuddin Firōz Shāh was granted the fief of Badaun along with a green canopy. Malik Tughhril-i-Tughān Khān was dignified with a canopy of State and a standard in the reign of Sultān Raḍiyya—See *Tabāqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 182, and 243. Sultān ‘Alā’-ud-dīn Mas’ūd Shāh despatched a red canopy and a robe of honour to Malik Tughhril-i-Tughān Khān. (See *Tabāqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 199).

7. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi* of Barni, p. 30.

8. Malik Tajuddin Sanjar-i-Tēz Khān was Amīr-i-Hājib in the reign of Sultān Nāṣiruddīn. See *Tabāqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 260.

9. صحبائے حاجبان کہ چو مزگان کشیدہ اند ہر صف ہزار اختر و حور رشید افسراست
Qasā'id of Badr Chāch, p. 52.

valuables) were regarded as essentials of etiquette. Access to the Sultān was generally granted and every one was allowed to lay his application in person before the Sultān through the Amīr-i-Hājib or Hājib-i-Khāṣ, one of the greatest administrative officers.¹ When officers and fief-holders came to pay their homage to the Sultān, they brought with them beautiful slaves, dressed and ornamented in the most splendid style, priceless horses, fine elephants, valuable garments, vessels of gold and silver, arms, camels, and mules.² Foreign travellers when seeking an interview with the Sultān offered presents, and generally received three-fold from the court.³ The Amīr-i-Hājib read out the application to the Sultān for his verdict, and then the Mohar-dār (keeper of the royal seal) fixed the seal on the royal orders. Applications were ultimately handed over to the different Dabīrs (secretaries), such as Dabīr-i-Khāṣ (general secretary),⁴ for final disposal. In criminal cases, the judgement was enforced then and there.

NĀ'IB-UL-MULK (REGENT)

AN extraordinary office of Nā'ib-ul-Mulk⁵ or Malik Nā'ib⁶ (Regent) was created on special occasions, either during the minority of the monarch or on account of his weakness. The regent stood in the Emperor's place, and carried on the government on behalf of the Sultān. When Sultān Muḥammad invaded Thatta, Malik Kabīr acted as his Nā'ib. He summoned Malik Mujīr, a feudatory, who came but paid no homage to the Nā'ib. Malik Kabīr grew hot and said, "I am in command of affairs for Sultān Muḥammad, and am empowered to issue orders in the royal absence."⁷ The Nā'ib was sometimes ordered to lead expeditions.⁸ Sultān 'Alā'uddīn I's Nā'ib acted as commander-in-chief of the imperial forces. He was, in fact, above the ministers, and his position was greater than that of any other servant of the Crown. Being a representative of the Sultān, he stood for his royalty; while the highest civil officer was the vizier. Several Nā'ibs were appointed in different provinces.⁹ The office of regent, however, proved a great menace to the personal security of its holder as well as to the integrity of the empire. The regent always struggled for political supremacy, and his mismanagement and cruel administration

1. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī* of Dīyā Barnī, p. 202.

2. 'Afīf's *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 268.

3. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain, p. 4.)

4. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī* of 'Afīf, p. 224.

5. گشت چو نام ملک امین ذات Nuh Sepahr of Amīr Khusrō, p. 70.

6. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, of Dīyā Barnī, p. 241 and *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*, p. 70.

7. از جهت سلطان محمد در مقام حکومت باشم بابت عیب امر مطلق من دارم 'Afīf's *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 453.

8. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 326.

9. 'Afīf's *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, pp. 454, 455.

was often responsible for the spread of a general revolt in the empire.

TRADITIONAL MINISTRY

IN accordance with a well-established principle borrowed from Persia, the Sultān was assisted in his executive work by a cabinet of four ministers. There were five principal departments under Mahmūd of Ghazna—Dīwān-i-Wizārat (Finance Department); Dīwān-i-'Arḍ (Military); Dīwān-i-Risālat (Correspondence); Dīwān-i-Vikālat (Household Department);¹ and Dīwān-i-Shughl-i-Isḥrāf-i-Mamlukat (Secret Service Department). The central government of India was divided into several departments, the heads of four of which enjoyed the status of ministers. Under the direct supervision of the emperor, the business of the State was carried on by the four traditional ministries—Dīwān-i-Wizārat (Revenue or Finance) Dīwān-i-'Arḍ (Military); Dīwān-i-Inshā'² (Local Government); and Dīwān-i-Risālat³ (Ministry of Appeals). Bughrā Khān, while advising his son said, "Do not fail to form a cabinet of four ministers, 'the Pillars of the State,' and discuss all the confidential secrets of the State in the presence of all the four. Though the rank of the vizier is higher, you should not allow any of them to predominate over the other." Each ministry was under the charge of a minister (Ṣāhib-i-Dīwān)⁴ or a deputy minister (Nā'ib-i-Dīwān)⁵ or both.

DĪWĀN-I-WIZĀRAT (MINISTRY OF REVENUE)

THE 'Abbāsīd vizier was the prime minister and received the title of aṣ-Ṣadr-ul-A'zam or al-Vizier-ul-A'zam.⁶ The vizier of Delhi was not the chief minister and was styled Muayyid-ul-Mulk (helper of country);

1. *Mahmūd of Ghazna*, by Dr. Nāẓim, p. 130.

2. See *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, April, 1935, p. 101.

3. Not 'Dīwān-i-Riyāsat' which does not seem to have possessed a high status and so should not be reckoned among the four ministries. See *Third Oriental Conference*, Madras, 1924, p. 313. Even in the reign of Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī, Dīwān-i-Riyāsat (Ministry of Markets) is not mentioned among the four ministries; see Barnī, pp. 153, 337, and 374.

4. *Strat-i-Firōz Shāhī*, Bankipore MSS. p. 72

5. It is incorrect to say that a ministry was under the minister (Dīwān or Nā'ib-i-Dīwān) and that there was no deputy minister. Sultān Ghiyāthuddīn Tughlaq appointed Bahāuddīn as 'Arḍ and Malik Tajuddīn as Nā'ib-i-'Arḍ. See Barnī's *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 428. Again, when Khusrō Khān was the vizier of Mubārak Khiljī, Faḍlullāh and Mughithuddīn acted as his Nā'ib-i-Vizier (Barnī—*Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 379). In some reigns such as that of 'Alā'uddīn, the ministries were entrusted to the charge of Nā'ib-i-dār, Dabīr-i-Mumālīk, Nā'ib-i-Vizier, and Nā'ib-i-'Arḍ. The old system was, however, revived by Firōz Shāh; see Barnī, p. 237. It may be concluded that ministries were sometimes under the charge of the Dīwān or Ṣāhib and the Nā'ib-i-Dīwān, and sometimes both.

6. *A Short History of Saracens*, by Ameer Ali, p. 412.

'Ain-ul-Mulk (the Eye of the State);¹ Nizām-ul-Mulk² (Administrator of the Realm); Fakhr-ul-Mulk (Pride of the Land); Šadr-ul-Mulk (Chief of the Kingdom); Diyā-ul-Mulk (Light of the Empire); Wazīr-i-Mulk (Vizier of the Kingdom);³ Qawām-ul-Mulk,⁴ Khwājah Jahān,⁵ Tāj-ul-Mulk,⁶ and Khān-i-Jahān.⁷ The vizier or Dastūr⁸ was the minister of revenue and enjoyed precedence over his colleagues, but the latter were not his subordinates in any way. The principle of joint responsibility did not exist in those days, and each minister was directly responsible to the Sultān.

The vizier occupied the highest office⁹ that a man of letters (Ahl-i-Qalam) could hold,¹⁰ and held the supreme status that a civilian could enjoy. The vizier Khān-i-Jahān Maqbūl of Sultān Firōz Tughlaq was illiterate,¹¹ while Qutlugh Khān, vizier of Sultān Husain, was the most learned man of the time.¹² The vizier was the chief adviser of the Sultān who often held secret consultations with him. The *Ādāb-ul-Harb-wa-Shujā'at* of Fakhrudīn Mubārak Shāh regards the vizier as an ideal man well-versed in the art of government, and notes a number of qualifications befitting a vizier. According to Nizām-ul-Mulk Tūsī, the vizier should in addition be "the protector of subjects and strong-handed."¹³

The vizier was the head of the Revenue Department. He collected revenue, checked the accounts of provincial governors, and realised balances. The accounts of all the departments were audited by the ministry,¹⁴ and the vizier himself examined all the schedules of receipts and disbursements every day.¹⁵ He exercised considerable jurisdiction over the Military Department. The early Muslim rulers made no distinction between civil and military duties, and the viziers of Iltutmish and 'Alā'ud-

1. See *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 135, 173.

2. *Firishṭa*, p. 67.

3. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 183.

4. 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 395.

5. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 142.

6. *Ibid*, p. 147.

7. The title of Khān-i-Jahān was for the first time bestowed upon the vizier—MSS. *Sīrat-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 17.

8. *Khanzādān-ul-Futūḥ* of Amīr Khusro, p. 84.

9. وزیردوم بادشاه است و کار اود شوارتر بود. *Zafar-Nāma*, edited by Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1883.

10. MSS. *Ādāb-ul-Harb*, 60b. Asiatic Society of Bengal Manuscript.

وزارت را قلم برکارش آموذ وزیرے چون حسن شد پیش محمود

Tughlaq Nāmā, p. 18.

11. 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 395.

12. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 157.

13. *Siyāsat Nāma*, p. 21.

14. 'Afif's *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 339.

15. *Ibid*, p. 397.

dīn conducted military campaigns as well.¹ The vizier of Muḥammad Shāh acted as Nā'ib during the Sultān's absence from the capital.² When the Sultān is weak, the vizier must necessarily be strong, otherwise the affairs of the State are bound to fall into disorder. The fall of the vizier meant the domination of military leaders. However, in the struggle for supremacy between the king and the vizier, public opinion generally supported the former. The weakness of the vizier, on the other hand, resulted in the predominance of the military leaders.

The vizier paid the army and all the other servants of the State, and granted allowances to holy persons, widows and orphans.³ The mint ;⁴ the building department ;⁵ the horse, camels and stables ;⁶ intelligence and post departments ;⁷ agriculture and charitable institutions⁸ and Kārkhānas (factories) were all under the charge of the vizier. The Nā'ib-i-Vizier-i-Mumālīk (the deputy vizier) did not enjoy a high status, and, unlike the vizier, was not allowed to sit in the Sultān's court.

The vizier was assisted by a number of high officials—Mushrif-i-Mumālīk⁹ (Accountant-General of Income), Musta'fi¹⁰ (Auditor-General of Expenditure),¹¹ and Majmū'adār¹² (Keeper of the Record of Balances). The controversy that arose between Khān-i-Jahān Vizier and 'Ain-ul-Mulk, Mushrif-i-Mumālīk, at the time of Sultān Firōz Tughlaq explains the duties of the three great officers. Sultān Firōz finally decided the matter thus: "A detailed account of income and total expenditure was to be given to the Dīwān-i-Ashraf, and a detailed account of expenditure plus total income to the Dīwān-i-Istifā', and a detailed account of both income and expenditure to the Dīwān-i-Wizārat."¹³ Thus the three branches of accounts, i.e., income (Jam'a) expenditure (Kharch), and balance (Bāqī) were under the charge of three responsible officers. The treasurer was called the Khāzin.¹⁴ Apart from these officers, there was an army of clerks and minor officials attached to the department. The vizier occupied the ministerial chair, the Nā'ib-i-Vizier sat on his left

1. Barni, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 252

2. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 152.

3. MSS. *Ādāb-ul-Ḥarb*, p. 56a.

4. 'Afif's *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, pp. 346, 347.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 333.

6. MSS. *Ādāb-ul-Ḥarb*, p. 56a

7. *Ibid.*, p. 55b.

8. *Ibid.*, 56b.

9. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 183, 193.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 192. 'Afif's *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 308.

11. *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, of 'Afif, p. 458

12. *Ibid.*, p. 92

13. *Ibid.*

14. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 248 ; Hindu Khān, the Treasurer.— هندو خان مبارک الخازن السلطانی .

below him sat the Mushrif-i-Mumālīk (Accountant-General of Income), who checked the income of the empire, examined the records, and saw that the public money was not misappropriated. Next came the Barīd-i-Mumālīk (Commissioner of Intelligence), Mustaufī (In-charge of Expenditure), and Wuqūf¹ (who verified items of expenditure) and Nā'ib-i-Wuqūf. The Mushrif-i-Mumālīk was assisted in his work by the Nā'ib-i-Mushrif (Deputy to the Accountant-General), the Nāzir or the Examiner of Receipts,² and the Nā'ib-i-Nāzir.

In addition to his duties as the emperor's chief adviser, the vizier, as has been stated above, supervised the working of the Dīwān-i-Wizārat (Revenue Department). The vizier was the head of this Department, and could recommend to the king the appointment or dismissal of any officer.³ The Sultān's orders were sent to the vizier for execution, and the Qādī Shahr and Khaṭīb accordingly inflicted punishments upon the criminals.⁴ It was the duty of the vizier to provide money for the expenses of the administration; he therefore had to keep a vigilant eye upon the local governors and their accounts. The land-tax was the principal source of revenue. Land revenue assessed from the Khālṣa, Iqtā', and other classes of lands, Khirāj from subordinate Hindu chiefs, Khums or 1/5 of the war booty, and other revenues derived from Zakāt and Abwāb were the chief sources of revenue.

Quṭbuddin abolished all taxes except those of the Shari'at, which meant 1/10 or 1/5,⁵ i.e., the tithe land and the Ṣadaqah. However, the system prevailing in the country and most akin to the Muslim law must have been adopted. Iltutmish made no changes, and Balban, too, could effect no change in the Iqtā' system. The "Early Turkish Sultanate" was too weak to establish anything like a regular and systematic organization for the assessment of revenue. These rulers followed the Muslim theories of finance and the policy of the Ghaznavides. Under the Ghaznavides, the Ṣahib-i-Dīwān (Provincial Revenue Minister), the 'Āmil (or collector) and the Ra'īs were all appointed by the Sultān. The provincial officers were bound to deposit the revenue in the royal treasury, and in case of delay an agent or Rasūl was appointed by the central government to exact payment. It all depended on the strength of the central government. With the establishment of an independent Muslim State in India the state of affairs naturally changed. Sultān Mu'izzuddin entrusted the charge of different territories to his slaves, while his successors distributed tracts of land (Iqtā's) to their own trustworthy and loyal officials, known as Maqṭa's. But the system had no permanent basis, nor did the Maqṭa's possess hereditary rights of succession. The Iqtā' holder collected the

1. 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 419.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

ماطر در جمع نظر مے کند . وقوف در خر چہائی ملک و اقف گر دد

3. 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 414.

4. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muhammad Husain, p. 166).

5. *Tārīkh-i-Fakhruddin Mubārak Shāh*, edited by Sir Denison Ross. DD. 32, 34.

revenue and deducted from it the amount granted to him ; and the balance went to the central government. Besides the *Iqtā'*, there existed another grant known as *Khālṣa* or *Mumlakat*, which was the property of the State, and was probably managed through the agency of 'Amils. Another class of land was that which was entirely left in the hand of the original owners on condition of payment of revenue. The revenue officers, perforce, entered into contracts with the *Rājas*, *Rawāts*,¹ *Chaudhris*, and *Muqaddams*² or any other pre-existing authority, who were permitted to collect the land-tax on behalf of the State on submitting a deed called the *Khat* to the local officers. Free lands, Milk or *In'ām*, also existed. The plan proved an utter failure.

DIWĀN-I-'ARĪḌ-I-MUMĀLIK (THE MINISTRY OF WAR)³

The *Sāhib-i-Diṭwān-i-'Arīḍ-i-Mumālik*⁴ (the Minister of War), styled 'Imād-ul-Mulk⁵ (the Pillar of the State), was the head of the Military Department. In Balban's time, the 'Arīḍ was known as *Rawāt-i-'Arḍ*⁶. The 'Arīḍ had nothing to do with the direction of war-operations and policy, which were exclusively dealt with by the Sultān himself. In some reigns, however, the 'Arīḍ was called upon to lead expeditions.⁷ There was no commander-in-chief in those days, for such an office would have been too dangerous for the monarchy. In practice, the commander, 'Sar-i-Lashkar',⁸ of every campaign was appointed for the occasion, and governors of different provinces were ordered to despatch their troops to join the imperial forces at the appointed places.⁹ The Sultān personally led all military operations, or else he directed them from the capital ; but the commander (*Sar-i-Lashkar*) alone conducted all negotiations with the enemy.

The 'Arīḍ was a distinguished officer of the State, and was responsible for the administration of the army. He was the most influential member of the war council, which advised the commander in matters affecting military operations.¹⁰ He held reviews¹¹ once a year, recruited men for

1. *Miftāh-ul-Futūh*, p. 59.

2. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh* of Amīr Khusrō, p. 88.

3. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 224, *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*, p. 127.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 317, and *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī*, (MSS.), p. 72.

5. *Barnī*, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 153. 'Afīf's *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 302.

6. *Ḍiyā'* *Barnī*, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 153.

7. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*, p. 50 ; MSS. *Miftāh-ul-Futūh*, p. 56 ; and MSS. *Nuh-Sepahs*, p. 58.

8. *Ḍiyā'* *Barnī*, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 231.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 489.

10. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*, pp. 118, 119, 120.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

the army,¹ and examined soldiers, horses, and arms. The highest qualifications for a soldier were to possess a good physique,² to be a good archer and an excellent rider. An efficient horseman had two horses, the price of which along with that of arms was paid by the government. Those who fled from the field were killed by the Sultān's order.³ The 'Arīd formally did not enjoy the power of dismissing or promoting his subordinates; but, in fact, he made recommendations to the Sultān. Balban, however, expressly conferred all powers upon his 'Arīd.⁴ The whole army, whether stationed at the capital or in the provinces, was under the direct control of the central government, and was paid in cash; revenues and lands were rarely assigned for military services before the reign of Sultān Firōz Shāh.⁵ In time of war, the 'Arīd had to fulfil some extra duties, *viz.*, the organisation of the commissariat and the collection of spoils.⁶ The Shari'at had allotted 4/5 of the spoils to the army and 1/5 to the State, but the rule was intentionally broken, for the army received regular salaries.

Mediaeval India was not feudal as is generally believed.⁷ The blunder arises from a misconception of the word "feudalism" and an ignorance of the true character of government during the Sultānate period. The Sultānate of Delhi was a territorial State of the modern type; the sovereign was supreme over all causes—military, administrative, and judicial. All land was the property of the State. The country was divided into provinces, capitals, and cities, the governors of which were known as Hākīm, Amīr-ul-Umarā' and Amīr respectively. The rural areas were entrusted to the care of Muslim officers, who worked under the 'Amils.⁸ The governors were not feudatories but servants of the Crown, appointed and dismissed at the pleasure of the Sultān, and their offices, too, were never hereditary. Sultān Firōz Tughlaq, for the first time, ordered that when a servant grew old, he was to be succeeded by his son, son-in-law, and slave in order of preference.⁹ The army, too, was not feudalized; the soldiers were directly recruited and enrolled in the registers of the

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsrī*, p. 146, Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 326

خواجہ حاجی نائب عرض مالک را برائے کار فرمای چشم و گرد آوردن اموال و پیلان و غام رواں کرد

2. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥammad Husain, p. 145).

3. It is interesting to note how Bakhtiyār Khilji, the conqueror of eastern Bengal, was refused military employment for the simple reason that his personality was not striking and imposing—*Tabaqāt-i-Nāsrī*, p. 146.

4. *Ḍiyā'* Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 115.

5. 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 300.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

7. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 45, which describes the organization of the central government as feudal.

8. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥammad Husain, p. 33).

9. 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 303.

State by the 'Arid or by governors on behalf of the Sultān, and were paid out of the royal treasury.¹ The Hākīm (governor) of Multan was also Bakhshī (Pay-master) of the army.² The regents (Nā'ibs), Wālī (governors), revenue officers (Mutaṣarrif), and assistants (Karkunān) had to submit a statement of income and expenditure to the Dīwān-i-Wizārat regularly.³

The court and palace of the emperor were modelled on Persian lines, while the administration of the army followed the Turkish system of military classification. Bureaucratic grades were based upon the decimal system. Ten soldiers, footmen or horsemen, were placed under the charge of a Sar-i-Lashkar or Sar-Khil; ten Sar-Khil were commanded by one Khān, and it was expedient to have ten Khāns in the kingdom.⁴ Thus a Khān or Amīr-i-Tūmān was the commander of a body of 10,000; a Malik or Amīr Hazārah⁵ the commander of 1,000; an Amīr or Amīr-i-Ṣadah⁶ the Commander of 100; Amīr-i-Panjāh (Commander of Fifty)⁷ and a Sar Khil or Amīr-i-Dah, (Commander of Ten). With the conquest of Northern India in the thirteenth century, military officers were burdened with civil duties, so much so that administrative work became a moral duty of most of the military officers.

DIWĀN-I-INSHĀ' (MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT)

THE Šāhib-i-Dīwān-i-Inshā' was the Minister of Local Government variously called Dabīr-i-Mamālik,⁸ Dabīr Khān or Sar-i-Dabīr (all meaning Chief Secretary of the State), and styled 'Umdat-ul-Mulk (Pillar of the State) or Taj-ul Mulk⁹ (Crown of the State). The minister was the proper channel of correspondence between the central and local governments, in other words, between the king and provincial governors,¹⁰ and as such he was expected to be a man of letters. Sultān Ghiyāthuddin Tughlaq called for the Dabīr-i-Khāṣ¹¹ and dictated messages to the governors of various provinces intimating the murder of Sultān Mubārak Shāh.¹² It

1. *Masālik-ul-Abṣār* (Elliot, Vol. III), pp. 576 and 577.

2. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥammad Husain, p. 1)

3. Ḍiyā' Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 468.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 219. یکدو امیران هزاره و چند امیر صدہ

7. *Ibid.*, p. 376.

8. Malik 'Izzuddin was appointed Dabīr-i-Mamālik in the reign of Sultān 'Alā'uddin, and held the charge of Dīwān-i-Inshā'.

9. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 183.

10. Ḍiyā' Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 153.

11. دیر خاص خسرو را و اہب این خطاب آمد کہ زلف عارض مہ باد تحریرات از نامش *Qasṣ'id of Badr Chāch*, p. 14.

12. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 337.

was this minister's duty to lay before the Sultān petitions of governors and local officers for his orders, and to convey the same to the applicants. Matters which directly concerned the particular ministries were referred to them for opinion and disposal. The minister himself drafted all Fir-māns in a "pliable and courtly style," and observed all legal forms. The various records and documents were carefully kept for future reference by his subordinate officers. He was assisted in his work by a large staff of Dabīrs¹ or Secretaries.

DĪWĀN-I-RISĀLAT (MINISTRY OF APPEALS)

DĪWĀN-I-RISĀLAT was the highest court of appeal. It was like the Dīwān-ul-Mazālim of the 'Abbasids (Board for the Redress of Grievances). The ministry received complaints from the subjects, and either granted redress in the capacity of the king's agent (Rasūl)² or else submitted the matter to the Sultān for his final orders. "Every day" says Shams Siraj 'Afīf, "a number of applications were submitted to the Dīwān-i-Risālat, asking for money, allowances, and stipends."³ The Šāhib-i-Dīwān, entitled Wakīl-i-dār⁴ and Bahā'-ul-Mulk,⁵ entertained all complaints against governors, ministers, government officials, and even members of the royal family, and decided such cases as fell within his jurisdiction.

An appeal from the Qāḍī's court lay to the Sultān, who presided over the ministry.

Ḍiyā' Barnī describes the four ministries as follows. Malik Ḥamīdud-dīn Nā'ib-i-Wakīl-i-Dār, Malik 'Izzuddin Dabīr-i-Mumālīk, Malik Ashraf Qanīnī Nā'ib-i-Vizier, and Khawjah Ḥājī Nā'ib-i-'Arḍ were each in charge of one department during the reign of Sultān 'Alā'uddin. The four traditional ministries were Dīwān-i-Wizārat, Dīwān-i-'Arḍ-i-Mumālīk, Dīwān-i-Inshā' and Dīwān-i-Risālat. Barnī further notes that by the removal of Malik Ḥamīduddin and 'Izzuddin and the murder of Sharf Qanīnī the glory of Dīwān-i-Risālat, Dīwān-i-Inshā', and Dīwān-i-Wizārat withered away.⁶ It is clear, therefore, that the Wakīl-i-Dār was in charge of the department of appeals (Dīwān-i-Risālat).

1. Malik Qawāmuddin was Ilāqah-Dabīr in Kaiyubād's time—See Ḍiyā' Barnī, p. 131. Shamsuddin the Dabīr, was sent to Sultān Mu'izzuddin Kaiyubād by Sultān Nāṣiruddin with a letter of message—See *Qirān-us-Sa'dām*, p. 102.

2. 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, pp. 512-13.

3. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 558.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 337.

ملک عبدالدين نائب وکلدار و ملک عزالدین دبیر مالک ملک شرف قرین نائب وزیر و خواجہ حاجی نائب عرض از چهار بزرگ مذکور . . . آراسه و پراسه شده بود .

5. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥd. Husain, p. 218).

6. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 337.

The Wakīl-i-Dār, variously designated as Rasūl-i-dār or Hājib-ul-Irsāl¹ was appointed to perform the secretarial functions of the court,² and was in charge of the Dīwān-i-Risālat. He received a pay of 24,000 Dinārs or a Jāgir yielding an equivalent income.³ The practice was like this : the Hājib introduced the visitor to the hall of audience and handed over his petition to the Barbak (a title conferred upon the Amīr-i-Hājib), who took it to the throne. After the Sultān retired from the court, the Hājib handed over the papers to the Wakīl-i-Dār, who disposed of them according to the Sultān's orders.

IMĀRATS (DEPARTMENTS OF THE STATE)

BESIDES the ministries, there were certain other departments (Masnads or Imārats), which, however, occupied a lower status. The most important of these was the Department of Justice (Dīwān-i-Qaḍā'-i-Mamālīk or Dīwān-i-Shara⁴ or Dīwān-i-Qaḍā').⁵ The Department has been defined by Qāḍī Minhāj-Sirāj in his introduction to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, as Dīwān-i-Mazāhir-wa-Maqām-i-Faṣl-i-Khuṣūmāt-wa-Qaṭ'-i-Da'āwī.⁶ (Board for the Redress of the Oppressed, Decision of Disputes, and Settlement of Claims). It was presided over by the Chief Qāḍī variously known as the Qāḍī-i-Mamālīk⁷ (Chief Justice of the State), or Qāḍī-ul-Quḍāt⁸ (Judge of the Judges), and styled Ṣadr-ul-Mulk⁹ (Chief Ṣadr or Judge), Ṣadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr¹⁰ (Judge of the Judges), Ṣadr-i-Jahān¹¹ (Judge of the Realm), Ṣadr-us-Ṣudūr-i-Islām¹² (Chief Ṣadr of Islam), Ṣadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr-i-Jahān (Judge of the Judges of the World),¹³ and Qāḍī-i-Ṣadr-i-Jahān¹⁴ (Chief Judge of the Realm). He was expected to be a man of learning and piety. He was the highest judicial authority below the king, and exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction. He was assisted in his judicial work by the Na'ib-i-Qāḍī-i-Mamālīk and a number of Qāḍīs. Every city and almost all the bigger towns had their separate Amīr-i-Dād¹⁵ (Judges) entitled

1. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥd. Ḥusain, p. 218).

2. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi*, p. 576.

3. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥd. Ḥusain, p. 218).

4. *Sirat-i-Firōz Shāhi*, Bankipore MSS. p. 123.

5. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ*, p. 7.

6. Introduction : *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 3.

7. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 193.

8. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muḥd. Ḥusain, p. 40, and *Masālik-ul-Abṣār*, (Elliot, Vol. III, p. 478).

9. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 193.

10. MSS. *Tāj-ul-Ma'āthir*, p. 178.

11. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 167 and 218.

12. *Masālik-ul-Abṣār* (Elliot and Dowson, p. 578).

13. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi*, pp. 247, 248.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 24 and 126.

15. Diyā'uddin Junaidī was the Amīr-i-Dād of Gwalior—See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 188.

'Majd-ul-Umarā' (Most Glorious Amīr),¹ while special Qādis were appointed for the army under the direct control of the Qādi-i-Lashkar (the Qādi of the Army). Unlike other officers, Qādis were generally appointed for life.

Criminal law in the middle ages was very strict, and punishments were severe. It is related in the *Futūhāt-i-Firōz Shāhi* that in former reigns the Sultāns shed the blood of Musalmans, and employed an infinite variety of tortures such as cutting off hands and feet, ears and noses, putting out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of hands and feet, burning the body with fire, driving iron bars into hands, feet, and chest, flaying alive, inflicting lashes with iron nails, and sawing the criminal in two.

The Qādis acted as justices of the peace, and their primary duty was to settle disputes according to rules of the Sharī'at. Appeals were allowed from the court of the local Qādi to that of the Chief Judge, and from him to the Dīwān-i-Risālat (Ministry of Appeals) and the emperor. The emperor was assisted in the discharge of his judicial duties by a board of divines 'Ālims, Shaikhs, and Muftis.

The government of the capital, Hadrat-i-Delhi, was entrusted to the charge of the Kōtwāl-i-Mumālīk: (Superintendent of the Metropolitan Police) and his staff. The Kōtwāl of Delhi was like the Šāhib-ush-Shurta of the 'Abbasids.² His rank was a little inferior to that of a minister but he was regarded as one of the highest officials of the realm. He was entitled Mālīk-ul-Umarā or 'Alā-ul-Mulk.³ When Balban invaded the territory of Lakhnauti, he appointed Malik-ul-Umara Fakhr-ud-Dīn Kōtwāl as his Regent in preference to the vizier.⁴ The Kōtwāl was in charge of the royal harem, the treasury, and the capital city; and kept the keys of the city gates, royal palaces, and the treasury. The duty of the Kōtwāl was to maintain peace and order in the city, and to apprehend thieves. The task of parading the prisoners was also entrusted to the city Kōtwāl.⁵

The Barīd-i-Mumālīk, or Commissioner of Intelligence and Posts, and his deputy the Nā'ib-i Barīd-i-Mumālīk supplied the Sultān with all necessary information regarding the current events of the realm. The capital was connected with the distant parts of the empire by numerous chains of post offices, where carriers, both horsemen (Aulaq) and footmen (Piyāda), were stationed to carry on the messages and letters. To communicate events, which happened in distant provinces post-relays were

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 188.

2. *Futūhāt-i-Firōz Shāhi*, p. 3.

3. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 194.

4. *Tārīkh-i-Tamaddun-Islami*, of Jurji Zaidan, Vol. I, Muhd. Ḥalīm's Urdu translation, p. 258.

5. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhi*, p. 269.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

7. *Miftāḥ-ul-Futūh*, p. 45.

established between the capital and the chief towns of the country.¹ Barīds or official reporters (Akḥbār Navīs) and secret service officials were posted everywhere in market and towns to inform the Sultān of the behaviour of State-servants, transactions in markets, and all other events.

The Amīr-i-Akhur or Akhur Bek² was the lord of the imperial stable the Shahn-i-Pīl of the elephants stable, and the Shahn-i-Nafar of the camel stable. The Amīr-i-Akhur was one of the most important officers of the empire. His duties were to make excursions in quest of fodder and to manage the affairs of the stables. It was not necessary for him to remain at the capital³ and the work was carried on by his Nā'ib.

The Sar-i-Jandar (Chief of the Royal Bodyguards) was another important officer. Balban had several Sar-i-Jandars.⁴ It was not essential for the Sar-i-Jandar to remain at the capital,⁵ for he was assisted in his work by his deputy (Nā'ib-i-Sari-Jandar),⁶ and Shahn-i-Zarrāt Khana⁷ (Superintendent of the Armoury). He was often made commander of the right or left wing of the army.⁸ As the disloyalty of his officers kept the king uneasy, the central contingents of the royal bodyguards looked after the personal security of the sovereign. The Amīr-i-Shikār⁹ (Chief Huntsman) organised the hunting campaigns. There was another officer known as Sar-i-Silahdār (Head of the Imperial Armour-Bearers), who secured the personal safety of the emperor.

The religious dignitaries attached to the court were the Shaikh-ul-Islam, (Chief Ecclesiastic of the State) like the Shaikh-ush-Shuyūkh of Egypt, the Sayyid-i-Ajall or Sayyid-i-Dargah (Head of the Sayyids of the Empire), and the Khaṭīb,¹⁰ who preached sermons and led prayers. The office of Shaikh-ul-Islam,¹¹ was conferred upon Jāmāl-ud-Dīn Bustāmī during the reign of Sultān Nāṣiruddīn. There was a government university at the Capital, known as Nāṣiryah College,¹² where professors of eminence and renown delivered lectures to students. Dīwān-i-Istihqāq (the Department of Pensions) granted allowances and pensions to 'Ālims and Hāfīzes. The head of the department was probably subordinate to

1. *Masālik-ul-Aḥsār* (Elliot, Vol. III, p. 581).

2. *Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ*, p. 28.

3. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 323.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

5. The governorship of Samana was transferred to Malik Sirāj the Sar-i-Jandar. *Diya' Barnī, Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, pp. 86.

6. Malik Sarfuddīn Ibaik-Kashlu Khān was Nā'ib-i-Sar-i-Jandar in the reign of Sultān Nāṣiruddīn—*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 278, 279.

7. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 254, 255.

8. *Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ*, p. 57.

9. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 169.

10. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, Vol. II (Urdu translation by Muḥammad Ḥusain, pp. 212, 213).

11. Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 247, and MSS. *Sīrat-i-Firōz Shāhī*, p. 34.

12. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 200.

the Qāḍī-i Mumalik (Chief Qāḍī of the State). The other department of charities or Dīwān-i-Khairāt¹ came into vogue only in the reign of Sulṭān Fīrōz Shāh.

The Mīr-i-‘Imārat² (Controller of Constructions), the head of the ‘Imārat Khāna (the Building Department) was assisted in his work by several Shāhnas or Superintendents of various departments under his charge.³ The two smaller departments of admiralty and agriculture were placed in charge of the Amīr-ul-Baḥr and the Amīr-i-Koh respectively. The first officer was in charge of the numerous flotillas maintained on the Jumna, Ganges, and other rivers for the use of travellers and armies. The other department looked after the improvement of agriculture⁴ reclaimed waste lands, and devised means for the welfare of cultivators. The Amīr-i-Koh supervised the construction of canals, the distribution of water, and the clearing of jungles.

MUHD. AZIZ AHMAD.

1. ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrōz Shāhī*, p. 351.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 331.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 331.

4. Ibn-Battūṭa (Urdu translation by Muhammad Husain, p. 17).

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Extra-mural Lectures.

UNDER the auspices of the Osmania University, extra-mural lectures of the University staff received a further extension this year by the arrangement of lectures in districts, outside the metropolis. So Warangal and Aurangabad were selected this year for the purpose.

Among the lectures in the city of Hyderabad-Deccan, Dr. M. Hamidulla spoke on Muslim Law. He said, it was a very vast and complex subject to speak about, some of its features alone could be dealt with in a short lecture.

Muslim law, as we possess it, is the relic of the heydays of the empire of Islam which extended over three continents. And this law served their purpose so well that it was considered more lenient and liberal than any other contemporary law.

A very small portion of the Muslim law may be considered as officially promulgated, referring to the Qur'ān and the tradition of the deeds and utterances of the Prophet. The traditions of the toleration (تقدير) consist of nothing but unabrogated customs of the country. Apart from this, practically the whole Muslim law owes its existence to the enterprise of scholars, unhindered and uninfluenced by Court whims and exigencies. In other words, not only judiciary was free in Islam from the executive and could summon and try even the Caliphs,—but even the legislature was purely and completely a private concern outside the control of the Government. Even the codification of Muslim Law was a private affair, first undertaken by Imām Abū Ḥanīfah and his Academy of law.

Muslim Law controls every aspect of the life of a Muslim, material as well as spiritual. The devotional acts like prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, etc., are as much part of Muslim law as contracts, marriage, inheritance, as also penal law, international law and constitutional law. Further it lays down rules for the mode of eating, slaughtering and even combing. This vastness of the subject would have been unworkable and impracticable, had the Muslim lawyers not solved the difficulty by dividing all rules into five categories, based on the grades of good and evil. The absolute good

is obligatory (فرض), the absolute evil is forbidden (حرام), the greater element of good is praiseworthy (مستحب) although its negligence is not punishable, the greater mixture of evil is disliked (مكروه) although its observance is not chastised; and the rest is permissible (مباح). The limited and small number of the obligatory or prohibited things is determined by the Qur'ān and the Hadith, and cannot be abrogated. Circumstances may require temporary readjustment in things praiseworthy or disliked. These too are limited in number. The unlimited rest is left to the discretion of everybody's common-sense.

Again, the sanctions of law in different civilisations are different. But in Islam the divine origin, the prophetic connection and beliefs in resurrection give it a sanctity for which even a lonely bedouin in the desert does not neglect his devotional service at the appointed time. And at the same time the Governmental enforcement through Judicial Courts and administrative censor of public morality (احتساب) bring into function the naked material sanction of modern type. This two-fold character of the means of enforcement has gone far to leave Muslim law as a practical as well as practicable institution.

Ninetieth Anniversary of Dārul-'Ulūm.

It was in 1372 H./1856 A.D. that Dārul-'Ulūm (house of sciences) was opened in Hyderabad and the earliest British Indian Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay had to wait for one more year to be incorporated. During the last 90 years of its existence, Dārul-'Ulūm has seen many vicissitudes of fortune. After some years of independent and useful life, it was degraded to the position of an insignificant school; then it was affiliated as a college to the Panjab University. After the promulgation of the British Indian Universities Act, Dārul-'Ulūm was forced to regain its independence. First there was a movement for an Islamic University but later it was decided to evolve out of Dārul-'Ulūm a non-Communal Osmania University. Dārul-'Ulūm served as the nucleus of the proposed university and was reshaped in the form of the theology faculty of the Osmania University.

Ninety years have passed over the establishment of Dārul-'Ulūm and twenty-five years over its conversion into the Osmania University—more particularly into its faculty of theology—and the occasion was a scene of great intellectual festival in Hyderabad in the second week of December last.

An exhibition of Islamic History and Culture; a series of lectures; a session of Arabic speeches and dissertations; a demonstration of the art of reciting of the Qur'ān; a poet's gathering with a given head

line این جنین دارالعلومی کی دکن پیدا کند and a set of lantern lectures ; —such was the outline of the programme.

His Royal Highness Prince Basalat Jah Bahadur performed the opening ceremony of the celebration. In the course of his reception address, Dr. Nāẓir Yar Jung, the Dean of Faculty of Theology, Osmania University, remarked that nothing would be better than the reminding of the pacific elements of our glorious past during these days of culture-burning armageddon. In his inaugural speech His Royal Highness observed :

“ The country was in need of such an exhibition for a long time. Islamic Culture, and more especially the culture of Indian Islam was suffering for lack of enthusiasm, to the extent of criminal neglect, on the part of those who had inherited it. Hyderabad is the cradle and centre of Islamic movements nowadays, and in the auspicious reign of the present Nizām foundations of a very praiseworthy work are being laid. It is gratifying to note that this is the celebration of the Jubilee of our oldest educational institution whose services can never be forgotten.”

Exhibition.—The Exhibition was housed in the big air-raid shelter of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur, and four additional big tents were pitched to accommodate the Exhibition, main features of which were as follows :—

a. Publications of the Dā'irat-ul-Ma'ārif, the Iḥyā-ul-Ma'ārif, etc., consisting of several hundred rare Arabic classics, and publications of the *Islamic Culture Journal of Hyderabad*.

b. Social life of nineteenth century nobility in Hyderabad, with silver furniture, profusely embroidered carpets, etc.

c. Painting, portraits, drawing of old and new masters including excellent collection of miniatures depicting Deccan history, lent by Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur.

d. Arms and weapons of different types and times.

e. Collection of photographs to show the monuments of Islamic architecture especially in India.

f. Coins of Islamic countries from the time of Umayyads down to this day ; and exhaustive collection of Indian dynasties.

g. Postage stamps of 42 Islamic countries.

h. Masterpieces of calligraphy, old and new.

i. Rare MSS. in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, etc.

j. Translations of the Qur'ān in different languages of the world, —Burmese, Polish, German, Malayalam, etc.

k. Persian translation of the Gospel done by a Muslim orthodox savant several hundred years ago.

l. Illuminated copies of the Qur'ān.

m. Photographs showing the first phase evolution of the Arabic script from the time of the Prophet downwards.

n. Astronomy section with oriental telescopes, astrolabes, charts showing discoveries of Muslim savants in astronomy.

o. Historic copies of the Qur'ān calligraphed by Emperor Aurang-zēb, Dārāshikoh, Yāqūt, etc.

p. Mecca Room with a model of the mosque of Ka'ba surrounded by photographs depicting the ceremonies of the pilgrimage.

q. Madīnā Room with a model of the mosque of the Prophet surrounded by several dozens of photographs tracing the whole life of the Prophet from his birth to his death, his sorrows, his achievements, social life, his time, etc.

r. History Room, containing multicoloured maps to show the limits of the conquests of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphs, conquests of Islam during the last 13 centuries embracing as far as Switzerland, Southern Italy, 3/4 of France, Volga region, etc., maps showing various phases of the epoch-making battles of Yarmuk and Matazgird; present Muslim population in different countries of the world, rolling maps chronologically arranged showing important events of each year with appropriate illustrations.

s. Arab Room showing a furnished parlour in modern Madīnā houses, with dummies clad in Arab dress, etc.

t. Historical records, autographs of Tipū Sultān, Clive, Warren Hastings, Cornawallis, Nizām 'Alī Khān, etc.

u. Relics of Rābi'a Dawrāni Mausoleum, Aurangabad, carpets, etc.

v. Old China.

w. Bronze and other metallic utensils.

x. Five old games of Fārūqī dynasty of the tenth century of Hijra, Marble models of architectural monuments like the Taj, etc.

Telugu Translation of the Qur'ān.

We had occasion of mentioning the appearance of the first part of a new translation of the Holy Qur'ān by M. Qāsim Khān, M.A. We have pleasure in announcing the publication of the second part, by the same author, as No. 4 of the Hyderabad Telugu Academy Series. The same high standard has been maintained and the translation has been followed by erudite notes on different topics. This part contains a lengthy discussion on interest and usury and from the quotations it seems that reference has been made practically to all the cultures of the world, Indian, Roman, Greek, etc. We expect that the remaining portions will follow soon.

M. H.

DECCAN

Dārā Shikoh.

MR. P. K. GODE, Curator of the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, has written a paper on *Samudra-Sangama: a Philosophical Work by Dārā Shikoh, son of Shāh Jahān in A.D. 1655*, which is published in the *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandal Quarterly*, Oct. 1943. He has discovered a Sanskrit MS. entitled *Samudra Sangama* from the Government MSS. deposited at the Bhandarkar Institute. It is the Sanskrit adaptation, as he has proved in this paper, of the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* of Dārā Shikoh. It was almost concurrently completed in 1065 A.H., which was the date of the completion of the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*. This was the 42nd year of his life. *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* has already been published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, under the editorship of Prof. M. Mahfūzūl Haq with English translation and useful introduction. This mentions one Hindu saint Baba Lal Bairagi to whom Dārā Shikoh also refers in one of his works *Hasanāt-ul-Ārifin* composed in 1064 A.H. This Hindu saint was a Kathri of Qasur living at Asthan at Dhianpur near Batala. Mr. Gode concludes his paper on the *Samudra-Sangama* of Dārā Shikoh with an appeal to Sanskrit scholars and the students of the Mughal history to reconstruct the history of Dārā's accounts with Benares Pandits which yet needs careful exploration and reconstruction on the basis of contemporary sources both in Sanskrit and Persian.

In 1940, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja had published in the *Adyar Library Bulletin*, the text of a Sanskrit Letter of Dārā Shikoh written to Goswami Narsimha Saraswati. This is more like an address than a letter. This MS. of this letter of Dārā Shikoh is deposited in the Adyar Library, Madras. The same scholar has now published an English translation of the Sanskrit letter of Dārā Shikoh in the *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras, (Pts. 2 and 3, May and Oct. 43). According to Mr. Gode, this Sanyasi, whom Dārā addressed this Sanskrit letter was the same as Brahmendra Saraswati, who was a signatory to a *Nirnayapatra*, drawn up at Benares in 1657 A.D. (vide *Adyar Library Bulletin*, vol. vi, 1942) *Yogavāsiṣṭha* of Valmiki is referred to by Mr. Gode in his above article among the Persian translations made under the auspices of Dārā Shikoh. Akbar first got it translated at his court and it was illustrated by his court artists. This illustrated edition is in the library of Mr. Chester A. Beatty, London. Its introduction shows that it was translated by one Faramuli, a native of Faramul near Kadul. The signatures of the court artists on some of the illustrations read thus : Tiriyya, Bishen Das, Kesu and others. But the MSS. of the translation of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* made under the auspices of Dārā Shikoh are not rare. Its introduction shows that this abridged translation was made in 1066 A.H. by his order and he himself is expressed as شاه قسسی منقبت گیتی پناه ولایت مرتبت سلاله می خواهم که این کتاب مستطاب را در حضور سلاطین والا قدر خلف خلفائے اولی الامر Sujan Rai used this translation of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*,

made under Dārā Shikoh's directions, as one of the source books for his *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh* in his account of ancient India. He says that this translation of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* جوگ باشست was made by Shaikh Ahmad and others by the order of Dārā Shikoh (*Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh*, Delhi, 1918, p. 6).

A Linguistic Survey of Hindustani.

Principal A. A. A. Fyzee has recently published an interesting paper on *A Linguistic Survey of Hindustani* in the Annual Number of the *Social Welfare*, Bombay, 1943. Mr. Fyzee, animated by an interesting lecture by Dr. I. J. Taraporewala on the *Linguistic Problems in India* before P.E.N. has made a few suggestions for the consideration of all those nationalists who earnestly desire our country to possess one *lingua franca* in India. He suggests that a basic vocabulary of at least 1,000 words should be selected, and a linguistic survey should be undertaken by a commission consisting of three experts. One of these may be a philologist, pure and simple; the second may be a Sanskritist, knowing Avesta and Pehlavi; the third should be a well-equipped student of Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Each one should have a competent knowledge of Hindustani. This commission should be asked to report on three different areas in India. (a) predominantly Hindu, (b) predominantly Muslim, and (c) Hindu-Muslim equally mixed. Such a systematic linguistic survey will tell us whether water is *jal* or *pani* and whether we speak of land as *zamīn* or *bhūm*. Mr. Fyzee's aim is that a chance be given to a simpler Hindustani, written in a simple and scientific script.

* * *

A few Arabic and Persian manuscripts belonging to the Satara Historical Museum are at present preserved at the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona. Though they are not of any great importance, yet the following points from them will interest the scholars:—

Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh, a general history of India, was composed by Munshi Sujān Rai. Dr. Rieu (*Persian MSS. Catalogue*, BM. pp. 230-231), Elliot-Dowson (Vol. VIII, p. 5) and others have committed errors about his name, native place, etc. Its Persian text has already been published in Delhi, 1918, under the editorship of Zafar Hasan. The author Munshi al-Manāshī Sujān Rai Bhandari was a native of Batala (Punjab) which he had clearly mentioned in the text under the account of Batal (MS. fol. 52b, printed ed. p. 71). He devoted two years to the composition of this work, completing it in the fortieth year of Aurangzēb's reign, corresponding to 1107 A.H./1695 A.D. (MS. fol. 7b). The same Munshi Sujān Rai had composed another work under the name of *Khulāṣat-ul-Makātīb* in the forty-second year of Aurangzēb's reign corresponding to 1110 A.H. In its introduction he shows that his son Rai Singh had requested him to compose a book on *Inshā*, which he had so far been avoiding, but later on,

his friend Maulānā Amānullah of Sohdrah (Wazirabad-Gujaranwala-Punjab) compelled him to undertake, (*vide* a note by K. B. Maulvī Muḥammad Shafī', *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, August, 1934, pp. 66-67, on its manuscript in the Panjab University Library). One manuscript of the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* in the same collection is thought defective, though its last leaf is intact. It bears two seals—one of them which is clear can be read thus :—

محمد اصغر "قول" عالم گیر بادشاہ ۴۲

"Muḥammad Asghar, slave (servant) of 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh, 42 regnal year." It shows that this Turkish word قول "Qūl—slave" was also used in seals instead of *Khānazād* or *Murīd* or *Banda* which represented the same meaning.

Medium of Instruction at the Proposed Maharashtra University.

Recently the Report of the Maharashtra University Committee appointed by the Government has been published. The chapter IX is mainly devoted to the medium of instruction. Its one paragraph 228 is the sub-heading *Muslim Apprehensions*. It runs as :—"They apprehend that their interests might be adversely affected in two directions : (i) that the new University might neglect some of the studies that concern or interest them, and (ii) that the progress of Marathi as the medium of Instruction might materially diminish the educational facilities open to them at present. However, in view of the definite opinion, that have been expressed before us, it becomes necessary to assure these sections in advance that the proposed University will look after their interests also." Khan Bahadur Prof. Shaikh A.K. Sarfarāz says, as one of the members of the Committee, in his note of dissent particularly on this point of medium of instruction from the Muslim point of view, "To understand the Muslim opposition on linguistic grounds, we have to go back to their history in Maharashtra before the advent of the British. History informs us that they came as conquerors and settled down in different parts of Maharashtra. Their cultural language was Persian, but they habitually spoke Urdu among themselves. The extent of the importance of Persian can be judged from the fact that it was in Persian that treaties between the Peshwas and the British were drawn up and all correspondence between the Peshwas and their agent at the court of the Governor-General at Calcutta was carried on in the same language. After the downfall of the Peshwas, the Poona Sanskrit College was established in 1821 for 'the encouragement and improvement of the useful parts of Hindu learning' and 'to preserve the attachment of the learned Brahmans.' While adequate provision was made for the education of Brahmans and the study of Sanskrit and Marathi, Arabic, Persian and Urdu were left to shift as best they could.

With the abolition of Persian as the court language, the Muslims employed in courts were all thrown out of employment and local vernaculars were substituted for Persian, which was mother-tongue of the Muslims. After discussing the history, Prof. Shaikh says, "If now in the proposed University Marathi is established as the sole medium of instruction 'the effect of this measure,' to quote Khan Sahib S. Baqir Ali 'will be simply disastrous. Most of these Urdu schools and Urdu high and middle schools will have to be closed. You will put back the hands of the clock seventy years.'" Prof. Shaikh demands from the government at this future University :—(i) that in a high school or a college connected with the University, the facilities and provisions for teaching, through English, of Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Muslim History, and Islamic Culture, should in no way be reduced below *the present level* and that the facilities available to Muslim students desiring to receive, through English, other subjects should not be denied owing to any restriction of numbers on the institution teaching through that medium : (ii) that in the graduate and post-graduate work conducted by the University, the facilities provided through English, for the study of Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Muslim History, Islamic Culture, etc., should not be reduced below their present level. These, in the opinion of Prof. K.B. Shaikh, are irreducible minimum requirements for which statutory provisions should be made in the Act. As to the medium of instruction at the proposed University, only this can be said that owing to political tension in this country, Urdu language has begun to be counted as the language of the Muslims only, although Urdu is the common heritage of both Hindus and Muslims.

M. A.

DELHI

Nadwat-ul-Muṣannifīn.

THIS society has been carrying on its activities in spite of the difficulties created by the war. The *Burhān*, which is the monthly journal of the society has maintained its usual standard. The following articles deserve notice :

Shāh Walī-ullāh aur unki ba'd 'Ilmī Khushīyāt (Shah Walī'ullāh and the characteristics of his erudition) by M. Saiyid Abu'n-Nazar Ridwī. This article deals with *Shāh Walī-ullāh's* researches into the solution of a number of knotty problems in Islamic theology, mysticism and philosophy. The discussion of the saint's views on the nature of soul, *Waḥdat-ul-Wujūd* and matter is particularly illuminating.

Musalmān aur Tibb (Muslims and Medicine) by *Khwājah 'Abd-ul-Wahid*.—This article discusses the contributions made by a number of most famous Muslim physicians to the science of pathology.

Mustashriqīn-i-Europe aur Islām men Muṣawwirī (European Orientalists and Painting in Islam) by S. Jamāl Hasan Shirāzī.—This article criticises the attitude and views of European orientalist who think that Islam is not hostile to painting and sculpture.

Islāmi Tamaddun (the Civilization of Islam) by M. Hifẓ-ur-Rahmān Siyohārwi. The author has a theologian's orthodox views regarding the nature of Islamic society in support of which he cites authorities profusely. There is a great deal of material of sociological interest in this article.

Ma'ānī-ul-Athār wa Mushkil-ul-Athār lil-Imām Tahāwī by Saiyid 'Abd-ur-Razzāq Qādirī Ja'far.—The *Burhān* published an article on the life of the Imām some time ago ; this article discusses his works in some detail and assesses their value.

Mīr Qamr-ud-Dīn Minnat by Dr. S. Azhar 'Alī.—This article discusses the life and works of Minnat, a famous scholar of the 18th century.

Ladhdhat : '*Arab Falāsifah ki Naẓar mēn* by Ṣadr-ud-Dīn 'Azīm.—The author discusses the views of Arab philosophers on hedonism.

Yaman kā Qadīm Tamaddun by M. Zāhid-u'r-Ridwī Qaiṣar.—This article describes the main characteristics of ancient Yamanite civilization.

New Publications.

The Nadwat-ul-Muṣannifin has continued publication of new books. The following deserve mention :

Lughāt-ul-Qu'rān by Maulānā 'Abd-ur-Rashīd Nu'mānī.—This is a full dictionary of all the words used in the Qur'ān. Unlike other works of a similar nature, it treats every derivation as a separate word and discusses it as such. The meanings are in Urdu. Along with every word is given a full reference to verses and chapters where it has been used. The first volume has recently been published.

Tārīkh-i-Millat—The third volume of this book on Islamic history has now been published which deals with the Umayyads.

Sarmāyah is a redaction of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* in Urdu.

Qaṣaṣ-ul-Qur'ān, Vol. III. This book deals with the references in the Qur'ān to various Prophets.

Culture Society.

A discussion group organized under this name holds meetings and *conversazioni* regularly. It is run by some litterati who believe in the propagation of new tendencies in Urdu literature.

Bazm-i-Urdu.

Another group, more conservative in outlook, has been working regularly for the last five or six years under the able and enthusiastic leadership of Khawājah Muhammad Shafī. Papers are read in the weekly meetings of the Bazm which are followed by discussions.

Aiwān-i-Urdu.

An interesting debate was held under the auspices of this body in the Town Hall on the comparative merits of modernism and classicism in Urdu literature. Modernism was represented by the well-known Punjab poet Captain Faiz Ahmad Faiz, and Mr. Sajjād Zahir, and classicism was supported by Khawājah Muhammad Shafī and Maulawī Sa'id Ahmad of St. Stephen's College, Delhi. The attitude of the house showed that Delhi was still a lover of classicism.

Some Valuable Manuscripts.

Dr. S. Azhar 'Ali, Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu in the University of Delhi, has some valuable manuscripts in his possession, a few of which are described below :

Tahdhib-i-Kalām:—This is a treatise in Persian by Qamr-ud-Dīn Minnat (d. 1208 A.H.) who was born at Sonapat, a small town near Delhi. He lived mostly in Delhi where he was brought up in the family of Hadrat Shāh 'Abdul-'Aziz, son of the famous divine, mystic and scholar, Hadrat Shāh Wali-ullāh. Minnat grew up to be a famous writer receiving the title of Malik-u-'sh-shu'arā from Warren Hastings and later also from Nawab Nizām 'Ali Khān, the Nizām of Deccan. This treatise was compiled in 1208 A.H., shortly before the author's death. Mamnūn, Minnat's son, added a short epilogue (*khātimah*) with two chronograms. One of these which reads as قمر دین بخسوف آمده آه gives 1208 A.H. as the date of the death of Minnat. The other gives the same year as the date of the compilation of this book and runs as : جواب آمد که تهذیب کلام بس ز روح اقدس جنت خرامتس :

This manuscript contains 185 pages and is written in a clean Nasta'liq hand. It does not bear either the date of transcription or the name of the copyist. In the end, however, occur the words : تمام شد نسخه بموجب فرمایش : میر صاحب میر نظام الدین فخرالشعراء which suggest that this manuscript was the property of Minnat's son, Nizām-ud-Dīn, who was given the title of Fakhr-u-'sh-Shu'arā by the Mughal court at Delhi. Having been

transcribed so near the death of the author, this manuscript is very useful; besides, I am not aware of any catalogue which contains a notice of this treatise.

The *Tahdhīb-ul-Kalām* deals with such subjects as simile, metaphor, *tajnīs*, etc.

Shakaristān—Minnat was a versatile author. Like Jāmī and others, he emulated Sa'dī by writing *Shakaristān* on the style of the world famous *Gulistān*. This work was dedicated to Mr. Richard Johnson, a servant of the East India Company, to whom the author refers in the following words:

متکفل امور جمهور ، منظم اعوام و شهور ، مزین هاج نوال ، برق لامع جلال ، مستخدم
السيف و القلم ، امير الايادی و النعم ، برج رفعت بناهی را کوکب دری و درج والاهاهی را ، گران
بها در ، امير اعظم نواب ممتاز الدوله فخرالملک حسام جنگ مستر رچارد جان جانسن صاحب بهادر
دامت ظلال افضاله فی الاطراف و الاقطار ، ما لاح نجم الغسق و طلعت شمس النهار .

This was an age when British officials accepted Mughul titles and were proud to display them.

The book is divided into seven chapters, each one of which is called a *naql*:

نقل اول در تهذيب اخلاق ، نقل دوم در آداب صحبت ، نقل سوم در سخن و خاموشی
نقل چهارم در جمع و بذل مال ، نقل پنجم در عشق ، نقل ششم در حکایات ملوک و امراء و صوفیه
و حکماء و علماء و شعراء و غیره ، نقل هفتم در مطائبات .

The sixth *naql* incidentally provides some meagre details about some of the forefathers of Minnat who would otherwise have remained unnoticed. Some of them were great dervishes. For instance, one of them, Saiyid 'Abd-ul-Ghanī was of such spiritual eminence that *Shaiikh* 'Abd-ul-Aḥad, father of Ḥadrat Mujaddid Alf-i-*thānī*, conceived a longing to meet him.

The manuscript has 184 pages; it is written in legible *nasta'liq*: the calligraphy is somewhat inferior to that of the *Tahdhīb-i-Kalām*. This book is the most famous of Minnat's works, though its manuscripts are not common. I have not seen any notice of this book in any of the famous catalogues of Persian MSS.

Sharḥ-i-Qirān-us-Sa'dain.—This manuscript of 114 quarto folios is the work of Nūr-ul-Ḥaqq of Delhī, son of 'Abd-ul-Ḥaqq. The former is the famous author of the *Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh*, (not to be confused with Ḥāfiẓ Aḥrū's book of the same name). Nūr-ul-Ḥaqq's history is based mostly on Nizām-ud-Dīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, though the *Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh* gives us a few facts based on the author's own observations. 'Abd-ul-Ḥaqq, the author's father, is famous for his

Tārīkh-i-Haqqī and his *Risālah dar Taṣānīf-i-Khud* has been noticed in the present writer's book *The Administration of the Sultānate of Delhi*. The manuscript under discussion is closely written in running nasta'liq and is transcribed by several persons as is borne out by the colophon which runs as follows :

تمام شد کتاب شرح قرآن السعیدین تصنیف بندگی نورالحق دهلوی پسر عبدالحق . یید بندہ
فقیر حقیر سعدالله وغیرہ عزیزان چنانچہ اہل صحبت از خط خواهند شناخت واقعہ بتاریخ ۶ شہر
رجب المرجب سنہ ۱۱۰۲ مطابق سنہ ۳۴ (جلوس) اورنگ زیب بہادر دریلہ فاخرہ سہرند در ہنگامہ
غلبہ ونا کہ واقعہ شہر جادی الثانی دوست جانی و دو جہانی میان رحمۃ اللہ ولد شیخ عبدالباقی
بہادر الملک جنت شناخت قلمی شد .

I have not come across any notice of this work in the catalogues of the more leading collections.

Mir'at-i-Iṣṭilāḥ :—This is a lexicon compiled by Anand Rām Mukhlīṣ of Sodhrā which is a small town in the modern districts of Sialkot (Panjab). He was educated in Delhi and came into close contact with famous scholars like Sirāj-u'd-Dīn, 'Alī Khān Ārzū and Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād of Bilgrām. Mukhlīṣ belonged to a distinguished family; we know that his father and uncle both bore the title of Rajah and Azād Bilgrāmī mentions in his *Khazānah-i-Āmirah* that Anand Rām enjoyed the distinction of the title of Ra'i-rayān. Mukhlīṣ is also mentioned in Mīr Qudrat-ullāh Qāsim's *Majmū'-un-Naghz*. The *Mir'at-i-Iṣṭilāḥ* explains various terms used in official correspondence both in India and Persia and thus is a valuable guide to the study of later Mughal administration. For instance, it throws welcome light on the manṣabdāri system. Mukhlīṣ was eminently competent to compile such a work because his family was closely connected with the Mughal court; his uncle Rājah Dayā Rām, for example, was a trusted servant of the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. Mukhlīṣ died in 1164 A.H. at the age of fifty. In his lexicon, the author paid special attention to such terms as had come into vogue at the time. Apart from his close study of lexicons, historical works and contemporary literature, he took help from such Persian words as had recently come to India. The author also studied, for this purpose, a large number of official letters and dispatches. The manuscripts of this work are not very common though some leading libraries possess copies. For instance, the India Office Library and the British Museum both possess a copy of the work. Dr. Azhar 'Alī's manuscript is not complete; it has no colophon and ends abruptly after the idiom *Yār Bāqī wa Ṣuḥbatash Bāqī*. Still this manuscript possesses some noteworthy feature which make it highly valuable :—

(i) the first page has nine squares and the subsequent fifteen pages have twelve squares each. The squares contain brief details pertaining

to some important person, topic or fact : it seems that it was the intention of the author to have some sort of an index to make the book easy for use ;

(ii) the fly-leaf of the manuscript has an endorsement in the hand of Āzād Bilgrāmī saying it had come to him for correction and revision only three months after the death of the author. It seems that this manuscript was the property of the author himself and was handed over to his friend Āzād for revision by Anand Rām's heirs for final revision. There are lacunæ where the writing has been wiped off and nothing has been inserted for them, showing that the author was revising the work and died before finishing the revision.

(iii) there are corrections and additions, in the hand of Anand Rām as well as of Āzād.

This manuscript is a fine specimen of nasta'liq calligraphy. The first page has floral decorations in gold with the customary بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ .

As has been said before, this book is invaluable for students of Indian Muslim history and administration, and needs a much closer study by historians than it has hitherto received.

I. H. Q.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

The Literary Career of Professor Mohammad Shafi'.

THE recent retirement of Professor Mohammad Shafi' from the Professorship of Arabic in the Panjab University and the Principalship of the University Oriental College, Lahore, furnishes us with a suitable occasion to pass under brief review the literary career of this *doyen* of Indian Arabists. Professor M. Shafi' joined the Panjab University as the first permanent Professor of Arabic in 1919. Before his appointment, he had had an uncommonly distinguished career as a student. After taking the degree of M. A. in English in 1905, he took after a few years a second M.A. in Arabic, beating all previous records in the subject. In 1915, the Government of India awarded him a scholarship for the advanced study of oriental languages in Europe. He joined the University of Cambridge, where he had the privilege of working with Professor E. G. Browne, an orientalist scholar of rare personal charm, who not only enjoyed an international reputation as an orientalist of great distinction, but was also held in great esteem and affection in the Muslim East for his deep and

sincere sympathy with the Muslim countries in general and Persia in particular. It was the good fortune of the Panjab University that it was able to secure the services of two of the most distinguished pupils of Professor Browne, viz., Professor Muḥammad Shafi' and Professor Muḥammad Iqbāl. All those who have read Professor Browne's Preface to the 3rd volume of his monumental *Literary History of Persia* will recall the high opinion he had formed of the exceptional learning, ability, and industry of these two scholars. The high opinion entertained by Professor Browne regarding their ability and his estimate of their merits have been fully justified by their subsequent achievements in the field of oriental research. While at Cambridge, Professor M. Shafi' also derived much benefit from his close association with Professor A. A. Bevan and Dr. R. A. Nicholson.

When Professor M. Shafi' returned to India and took up his appointment at Lahore, he combined in his person a profound knowledge of oriental languages with a sound training in modern methods of critical research. First of all, he organized the Honours School in Arabic, and revised the syllabuses and programmes for the various University examinations, introducing new text-books and thus making the courses of study more comprehensive and more up to date in character than they had been before. Besides doing the usual teaching work, he also found time to edit a number of important oriental texts, such as 'مطلع سعدین ، شمه صوان الحکمه' ، 'مخطاؤه عبدالنبي' and other works. By the painstaking collation of manuscripts, the minute attention to details and the sound judgment he has displayed in fixing the text in doubtful cases, he has set up a new standard of critical editing and exact scholarship in this country. His work as an editor can compare favourably with the best work of its kind done by European scholars ; and future workers in India would do well to adopt it as their model. A casual reader of the texts edited by him can have no idea of the patient industry and infinite labour which have gone into the preparation of those illuminating annotations on books and personal and place names, which greatly enhance the value of the texts. A single correction or a single note on some less known author or book has sometimes necessitated reference to a score of books and expenditure of much time and energy on his part. Again, by preparing Analytical Indices to *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* of Ibn-'Abd-Rabbihī, he has placed in the hands of students a useful aid to Arabic studies, the value of which cannot be over-estimated. Indices of bulky works like the *'Iqd* have been usually prepared in the West by the collaboration of a number of scholars ; but it is the singular merit and rare distinction of Professor M. Shafi' that he has achieved this colossal task single-handed.

In 1925, Professor M. Shafi' began the publication of the *Oriental College Magazine*, a quarterly journal, which has made its appearance regularly ever since. When he recently relinquished its charge, eighteen volumes comprising seventy issues had already appeared. The 69th issue

contains an exhaustive index to the foregoing volumes ; and among its contributors we find many well-known writers on oriental literature and history, including pupils of the editor himself. Undoubtedly, it was the inspiring example of the editor which had gathered around him a band of zealous workers. The *Magazine* is a learned journal that has never thought of pandering to the vitiated taste of the common man ; but on the contrary, it has always sought to maintain throughout a uniformly high standard of scholarship. In these eighteen volumes, Professor M. Shafi' has raised an imperishable monument to his patient industry and profound learning, which will always reflect great credit on his erudition.

Professor M. Shafi' has also proved a conscientious and inspiring teacher and has exercised a tremendous influence in this capacity. During the last 23 years, scores of students have passed through his lecture-room, so that his pupils are now found not only in numerous educational institutions of the Panjab but also in many seats of learning throughout India. Several advanced students have also written doctoral dissertations under his expert guidance ; while several others are now engaged on similar work under his supervision ; and it is hoped that the results of their labours too will see the light of day in due course of time.

Besides carrying on his teaching and research work, Professor M. Shafi' has also rendered highly meritorious services to the Panjab University as a member of the Syndicate, Dean of the Oriental Faculty, Chairman of the Library Committee and in several other capacities. The multifarious duties thus entailed have naturally made a heavy demand on his time and attention.

In his private life, Professor Shafi' is a man of simple and retired habits ; and there is nothing farther from his thoughts than to seek cheap publicity or worldly fame in any form or guise. He has a stern sense of duty ; but his sternness is combined with an innate sense of justice and strict impartiality in all his dealings. His whole life has been characterized by a fearless adherence to principles and an utter disregard of personal considerations—a mode of conduct, which was little calculated to endear him to corrupt or base minds, but which has nevertheless won him the sincere respect and genuine esteem of all those worthy and discriminating persons who have come into contact with him.

We on our part have no hesitation in saying that the career of Professor M. Shafi' as an inspiring teacher, as an erudite scholar, as an able administrator and as a doughty champion of oriental studies, constitutes a creditable record of service, of which any man may be justly proud.

A Critical Study of M. Muḥammad Husain Āzād.

The University of the Panjab has recently conferred the degree of Ph.D. on Professor Muḥammad Šādiq of the Government College, Lahore,

for his critical study of the life and works of Maulvī Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād. An authoritative biography of Āzād had long been overdue ; and the omission has now been admirably supplied by Dr. Muḥammad Ṣādiq in his doctoral dissertation : *Āzād, his Life, Work and Influence*. There is no other writer of the nineteenth century Islamic Renaissance in India whose life bristles with so many thorny problems, critical and biographical as that of Āzād. He is numbered among historians as Saul was among the Prophets. His great biographical and critical work, *Āb-i Ḥayāt*, is generally dismissed as a collection of cock and bull stories, most of them being the inventions of the author himself. This charge of historical inaccuracy is complicated by the charge of sectarian bias, which is held responsible for his disparagement and neglect of the Sunnite poets. Besides, he has alienated the sympathy of the Ghālib-fans by his somewhat immoderate and indiscreet admiration for *Dhauq* and the comparatively curt and cold manner in which he has dismissed his contemporary, *Ghālib*. There are numerous other questions to be investigated. What was, for instance, the nature of his mission to Central Asia ? Was it literary or political in character ? Who completed the *Darbār-i Akbarī* ? Was it completed by Āzād himself, as claimed by his grandson, or by Maulvī Mumtāz 'Alī, who published the work during the period of the author's mental derangement and professes to have edited and written certain parts of it in the author's own style. Then, there are interesting questions connected with the famous controversy between Āzād's father, Maulvī Muḥammad Bāqir and Maulvī Muḥammad Ja'far, which had serious repercussions on Āzād's life and views ; and last but not least, the reasons for the execution of M. Muḥammad Bāqir after the Mutiny. All these questions, which have been much complicated by the passage of time and the absence of reliable data, have been discussed with firmness and balance by Dr. M. Ṣādiq. His verdict is favourable to Āzād, and should go a long way to rehabilitate him. Besides vindicating his freedom from religious bias, Dr. Ṣādiq has fully established by documentary evidence that *Āb-i Ḥayāt* is entirely based on earlier works and on the information supplied by the relatives and friends of the various poets, although the author did not take care to mention his sources in each case.

On the other hand, Dr. Ṣādiq has felt constrained to bring to light certain facts, which probably will not reflect much credit on the literary honesty of Āzād. He has discovered, for instance, that *Nairang-i Khayāl* is a collection of free translations from the writings of some of the English essayists of the 18th century, and that in editing *Dhauq's Dīwān* he took the liberty of rewriting some of his *ghazals* and *qaṣīdas* in their entirety. All this is supported by strong documentary evidence. One of the most interesting chapters of the dissertation is the one which deals with the "Mind of Āzād." Dr. Ṣādiq is of the opinion that Āzād's glorification of the past, which has been regarded as wilful exaggeration by some critics, is in reality the reaction of his emotional temperament to the arid intellectualism of the new age. Āzād was in fact an uprooted romantic soul, and

despite his strong affiliations with the new age he was not at home in it.

It will be seen from the above brief analysis that Dr. M. Sādiq has performed a solid piece of research work, for which he deserves our warmest congratulations. We would strongly urge upon him to take the necessary steps for an early publication of his valuable thesis, which constitutes an important contribution to the history of Urdu literature, and which should therefore be made available to the reading public as soon as feasible.

The Panjab University Arabic and Persian Society.

The Panjab University Arabic and Persian Society was started in 1937, on the initiative of Principal Muḥammad Shafi' with the object of stimulating research work in Arabic and Persian studies among the students of the Panjab University. The Society has a journal of its own, which is published quarterly as a supplement to the *Oriental College Magazine* and contains literary contributions of a high standard. The Society also arranges lectures by competent persons on various subjects of scholarly interest. They are generally well received and draw large audiences. As usual, the Society has a crowded programme for the current winter session, and several interesting papers have already been read under its auspices. In one of these, Professor Muḥammad Iqbāl threw some more light on *Farrukhī*. The way in which the Society is serving the cause of oriental learning reflects great credit on the devoted labours and unremitting efforts of its learned Secretary, Dr. S. M. 'Abdullāh and his energetic Assistant Secretary, Mr. Šādiq 'Alī Dilāwarī.

Bazm-i Adab, Oriental College, Lahore.

Under the auspices of the Bazm-i Adab, recently instituted at the Oriental College, Lahore, with Professor Dr. Muḥammad Iqbāl as its President, Dr. S. M. 'Abdullāh read an interesting paper on "*Khān Ārzū's Contribution to Urdu Language and Literature*," in the course of which the learned lecturer pointed out that whereas *Khān Ārzū* is generally recognized as an authority on Persian language and literature and a prominent critic of Persian poetry, the services that he rendered to the Urdu language are usually ignored. In his day, *rēkhta* had not yet attained the dignity of a literary medium, and yet all the first-rate Urdu poets such as *Mir* and *Saudā* acknowledged him as the doyen of *rēkhta* poets. This is explained by the fact that *Khān Ārzū* patronized and encouraged the *rēkhta* poets, and thus raised the status of *rēkhta* poetry and removed the generally prevailing notion that to compose poetry in the *rēkhta* was below the dignity of real talent. Besides, *Khān Ārzū* is

probably the compiler of the first Urdu dictionary, entitled *Nawādir ul-Alfāz*, which he wrote to rectify the unscientific compilation of Hānswī. Last but not least, he was the first Indian writer of modern times who interested himself in the comparative study of languages and discussed the points of similarity between Persian and Indian languages, including Sanskrit, particularly in his work named *Muthmir*. All these considerations entitle him to an honourable place among those who have served the cause of Urdu language and literature.

New Publications.

A few years ago, the University of the Panjab conferred the degree of D.Lit. on Syed M. 'Abdullāh, M.A., for his dissertation on the *Hindu Contributions to Persian Literature*. The English original of this thesis has not been published yet ; but an Urdu version has been brought out by the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Delhi, as No. 187 of their series of publications. The work is an original contribution to the subject of study, and is based on hundreds of sources, which have been utilized with great critical acumen, and the results have been presented with a praiseworthy literary skill. The learned author has made a critical and historical survey of the various kinds of contributions, which Hindu writers have made to Persian literature from the Ghaznawid period down to the present day. Hundreds of poets, writers and stylists receive suitable notice in the course of the work, which is fully documented. It comprises six chapters and three appendices. Each chapter begins with a brief account of literary patronage accorded by the royal court, which gives a clue to the educational policy and general literary tendencies of each period. The interest and value of the book are enhanced by the photographic reproductions of the original writings of a number of writers. The book is also furnished with a detailed Table of Contents and an Index, which greatly add to the usefulness of the work. Unfortunately, the general get-up of the book is not in keeping with the literary status of its learned author or the intrinsic importance of its subject-matter. Among other things, the paper used is inferior in quality. The interest and importance of the subject demand that the book should be published in the English original as well ; and we hope that some publisher or literary institute will soon come forward to undertake its publication.

Sh. Muḥammad Ashraf, the well-known publisher of Lahore, has brought out a reprint of *The Arabic Civilization*, which is an English translation by the late S. Khudā Bakhsh of the German Professor, Joseph Hell's *Die Kultur der Araber* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1919). The translation was originally published some years back by Messrs. Heffer & Sons of Cambridge. The book gives a useful summary of Islamic history and culture to the fall of Baghdād (1258 A.C.) in the East and that of Granada

(1492 A.C.) in the West ; and is therefore not without utility for the beginners. Unfortunately, the translation is not as accurate as it should have been ; and we hope to review the book critically in a future issue of this Journal.

SH. I.

FOREIGN

THE following Note on Building of Mosques in England is received from Jamī'at-ul-Muslimīn, London.

"The Jamī'at-ul-Muslimīn in the United Kingdom, with headquarters in London (36, White Church Lane) have allocated the sum of £ 3,000 for building the first mosque in Glasgow (Scotland). It is pointed out that this magnificent contribution does not include any money which Muslims outside the United Kingdom may contribute. H.R.H. Prince Muhammad 'Alī, Heir-apparent of Egypt, has sent his generous donation of £ 100 for a mosque in Glasgow. Seven prominent Muslims (all Indians) resident in Glasgow have offered to bear all the cost of purchase of the site in Glasgow. This offer makes these seven donors liable to between £ 1800 and £ 2000. Other residents in Glasgow (all Muslims and members of the Glasgow branch of the Jamī'at-ul-Muslimīn) gave £ 1,142-10-0 on that day for the purpose. This will be the first mosque in Scotland and it is the intention of the Executive Council of the Jamī'at to build this mosque entirely from the resources of the members of the Jamī'at-ul-Muslimīn in United Kingdom. The mosque will have an Islamic Culture Centre containing a Madrasah, Library of Islamic Books and Assembly Hall for social purposes.

The Jamī'at-ul-Muslimīn in the United Kingdom was established in 1934. Its members are Muslims, resident in the British Isles and come originally from all Muslim countries of the world. The Jamī'at-ul-Muslimīn has headquarters in London, and branches in Birmingham, Cardiff, Glasgow, Manchester, and Newcastle-on-Tyne. The present strength of membership is 1,060. This total does not include members who have not paid their yearly subscription of 2/6. We do not accept life or honorary members. All members must pay yearly. Prayer Rooms are established at all the Branch Centres. After Glasgow, it is proposed to build a mosque in Newcastle-on-Tyne. In considering the necessity of a mosque in any town, full regard is paid to the permanent Muslim population of the town. I am happy to inform you that in all the Branch Centres of the Jamī'at, *Islamic Culture* is eagerly read. The Jamī'at publishes its own paper *Muslim News* every month. It is in English, Urdu and Arabic. It goes free to all members and others interested. The contributors include 'Allāma Yūsuf 'Alī, Mr. Ahmad Bennet, Mr. Bashyr Pickard, Prof. Hob(?) Allah of Cairo, S. A. K. Dehlawī, Mr. Šāhib Dād Khān (General Secretary of the Jamī'at-ul-Muslimīn). It has issued 5 numbers."

ED., I.C.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE HOLY QUR'ĀN, ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY (with Arabic text) by Maulānā 'Abdul-Mājid Daryābādī; part I, ALIF LĀM MIM; published by the Taj Company Ltd., Lahore; price Rs. 2.

THE Taj company deserves our congratulation for publishing the long-awaited translation of the Holy Qur'ān by Maulānā 'Abdul-Mājid Daryābādī. It is published together with the Arabic text on glazed paper. The Maulānā had utilized the opportunity of having a number of learned translations before him. He has largely drawn upon the translations of Sale, Lane, Pickthall and on the unpublished translation of Nawab 'Imādul-Mulk Bilgrami. The Maulānā in this translation has endeavoured to produce an accurate version and has considerably used biblical phraseology. The Maulānā in his preface not only admits but also enumerates a number of difficulties one comes across in translating the Holy Qur'ān. It was owing to these difficulties that the Late M. Pickthall translated not the Glorious Qur'ān, "the very sounds of which moved men to tears and ecstasy," but presented the meaning of the Qur'ān; and 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī in his translation attempted to bring out the literary elegance of the Qur'ān. Both M. Pickthall and 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī have avoided the use of excessive foot-notes as they marred the flow and fluency of the language. But the translation of Maulānā 'Abdul-Mājid is distinguished from the above-mentioned translations in the fact

that it contains profuse explanatory foot-notes. These foot-notes are not simply elucidations of certain verses, but they also furnish full information regarding lexical, grammatical, historical, geographical, eschatological comments, and comparative explanation of Qur'ānic and Biblical versions. It is, indeed, in the foot-notes that the importance of this translation lies. It can be conveniently called a translation of the Commentary of the Qur'ān. But as M. Pickthall and A. Yūsuf 'Alī in their desire to stick to the elegant style have not been at times true to the accurate rendering of the Qur'ānic sense, the Maulānā's translation has become too literal and in translating the original word for word, it is not too easily comprehensible. The following specimens are given below in the hope that they will be revised in the next edition:

5. These are on guidance from their Lord, and these they are the blissful ones. ٥-اولئك على هدى من ربهم واولئك هم المفلحون

7. and unto them shall be a torment mighty. ٧-ولهم عذاب عظيم

27. These! they are the losers. ٢٧-اولئك هم الخاسرون

48. And fear a Day whereon not in aught shall a soul satisfy for a soul. ٤٨-واتقوا يوما لا تجزي نفس عن نفس شيئا

54. Verily He is the Relentant, the Merciful. ٥٤-هو التواب الرحيم

61. And stuck upon them were abjection and poverty. ٦١-وضربت عليهم الذلة والمسكنة

89. And when ^{٨٩- وَاِذَا جَاءَهُمْ كِتَابٌ مِّنْ}
there came unto ^{عِنْدَاهُ مَوْعِدُهُمْ}
them a Book from ^{لَهُمْ}
before Allāh confirming that which was
with them.

90. Vile is that for ^{٩٠- بِشَيْءٍ اشْتَرَوْا}
which they have ^{اَنْ يَكْفُرُوا}
bartered their souls, ^{بِأَنْ يَزِلَّ اللَّهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ}
that they should ^{عَلَى مَنْ يَشَاءُ مِنْ عَادَةٍ قَدَامًا}
disbelieve that ^{بِفَضْبٍ عَلَى غَضَبٍ وَكَفَرٍ}
which Allāh hath ^{عَذَابٍ مُّهِينٍ}
sent down, out of ^{بِشَيْءٍ}
envy that Allāh
should reveal, out of

His grace, unto whosoever of his bond-
men He listeth. Wherefore they have
drawn upon themselves Wrath upon
Wrath and unto the infidels shall be a
torment ignominious.

Besides the above quotations there
are certain passages and words like
^{لَا يَجْزِي نَفْسٍ عَنْ نَفْسٍ شَيْءًا} and ^{وَالْمُصَلِّحُونَ}
whose translations are not properly
understood unless they are read
together with the foot-notes. It is
advisable that the text of translation
should be complete in itself as far as
possible and should not be wholly depen-
dent upon the foot-notes. Finally, a
word with regard to the transliteration
will not be out of place here. As the
translation of the Qur'ān is a work of
universal interest, it should adopt an
international system of transliteration.
According to the method of the Royal
Asiatic Society which is recognised almost
all over the world, *dh* for the letter ذ
and *q* for م are used. It is, therefore,
advisable that the diacritical marks should
be accordingly changed in the next edi-
tion.

M. A. M.

SA'ADYA GAON ON THE INFLU-
ENCE OF MUSIC by Henry George
Farmer, Ph.D., D.Litt., London, 1943;
Arthur Probsthain, 4 to 109 pages;
price, 21 sh.

THIS Jewish philosopher, known in
Arabic literature by the name
of Sa'id ibn Yūsuf, was born in

the Fayyūm in Egypt and died in Bagh-
dād some time after the year 330 A.H.,
according to Mās'ūdī, who called him
Sa'id ibn Ya'qūb (*Tanbīh*, p. 113) while
the author of the present work fixed the
date of his death in the year 942 of the
Christian era, that is just over a thous-
and years ago. His philosophical ideas
caused a stir in the Jewish community
in Baghdād and the disputes with the
head of that congregation were attended
to by the Wazīr 'Alī ibn 'Isā and other
Muslim dignitaries. His principal work
on philosophy, written in Arabic, has
the title *Kitāb al-Amānāt*. This work
has come down to us in Arabic language,
(written in Hebrew characters), and
several translations and commentaries in
the Hebrew language. I do not think
that this and his other philosophical
works have had any influence upon
Muslim thought, on the contrary the
reverse is the case. The Arabic transla-
tions of Greek philosophers by Ḥunain
ibn Ishāq and others as well as the works
of al-Fārābī have no doubt influenced
the trend of thought of Sa'adya and
brought about the polemics between him
and Dā'ūd ibn Zakkay, head of the Jewish
congregation at Baghdād. His works con-
cern us here only in so far as in his chief
work, the *Kitāb al-Amānāt*, he devotes
a short article on music and its probable
use in sacred song. There is no trace
that the work of Sa'adya has had any
influence upon Arabic music, but there
cannot be any question about his
thoughts having been influenced by the
works of Arabic authors and as the editor
and translator has, I believe, proved that
it is from the works of al-Kindī that he
derived his ideas. The short chapter in
the *Kitāb al-Amānāt* had so far baffled
all previous authors who had attempted
to cast light upon the real meaning of the
text of Sa'adya and it appears that even
the epitomisers and translators, carefully
analysed by the author, had not grasped
its meaning. It seems that the introduc-
tion of rhythm in sacred music was the
cause for the antagonism of the orthodox
school of Rabbis and perhaps also that it
was borrowed from foreign sources.
That Sa'adya was not the inventor of the

novelty is quite clear and, as already stated, his teachers must be sought among Muslim authors, and it is under this aspect that that work comes under the scope of interest of readers of *Islamic Culture*. Unfortunately we have so little preserved of the earliest literature on the subject. We must, however, agree with Dr. Farmer that most likely Sa'adya drew upon the works of al-Kindī and probably it was the latter's lost work on rhythm, the *Kitāb al-'Iqā*, which was his source. From this point of view, accepting it as being correct, we also get an insight into the work of al-Kindī.

A strange phenomenon to us, is that, as with precious stones, stars, etc., music is brought into an ethical relationship with the various moods of the human soul. The author has in the translation and commentary of the text compared the exposition of Sa'adya with the schemes of other authors, and again with al-Kindī, who have drawn up similar tables of the influences believed to be exercised by the various modes of rhythm. I must confess, though it is quite obscure, that I lack the necessary theoretical knowledge of music and was no doubt so to the Hebrew translators of the work, and those better fitted for a just appreciation of this side of the science will no doubt find much to excite further investigation.

One thing is even clear to me that Dr. Farmer for the first time has been able to lift the veil from the obscurities of the ideas expressed by Sa'adya which have baffled all previous scholars who have tried to tackle this delicate subject.

Unfortunately neither here nor with Muslim authors do we get a glimpse of melody and the theoreticians of music appear to have laid stress always on the rhythm or tempo of music and perhaps melodies were left to be perpetuated by professional singers.

Unfortunately, I am unable to say whether the recently discovered codices of works by al-Kindī contain those works on music which up to now have been considered lost. Prof. Guidi of Rome together with Dr. Walzer were to publish

all these works but the war made a sudden stop to the publication.

F. K.

TADHKIRAT AL-MULÜK, translated and edited by V. Minorsky, Professor of Persian in the University of London, with the Persian text in fac-simile (E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, No. XVI of the New Series; published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russel Street, London, W.C.; price 20 sh.

IT is to be regretted that the Safavi emperors have left no monument of their administrative achievements like the *Ā'in-i-Akbari* of Abul-Fadl; even Persian manuals of procedure, like our *Dastūr-ul-'Amals*, are scarce; and, in the absence of administrative records, students of Persian mediæval administrative system have had to resort to the indirect method of picking out stray references from the general histories and other literature of the period in order to reconstruct the organisation of the Šafavid empire. A special importance, therefore, attaches to the discovery and publication of the *Tadhkirat-al-Mulūk*.

On March 6, 1722, Sultān Husain, the last of the Šafavid rulers (of whom the Russian ambassador had remarked: "Seldom can one find such a fool among commoners, to say nothing of crowned heads,") was defeated by *Shah* Mahmūd *Ghilzai* in the neighbourhood of Isfahān and forced to capitulate after standing a siege of seven months. The Šafavi dynasty was extinguished. The Afghan conqueror naturally knew very little about the administration of the country; on the other hand, there would be a desire on the part of the Persian officers to continue the system to which they were accustomed, (i.e., retaining their perquisites), with merely a change of dynasty. Professor Minorsky concludes from the internal evidence of the text that the *Tadhkirat-al-Mulūk* was prepared for the consideration of *Shah* Mahmūd;

but the *Shāh* died before it could be completed, as it refers to him as the "late *Shāh Mahmūd*." The manuscript of the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*—the sole copy existing—was acquired by the British Museum (Or. 9496) from the private library of the late Sultān 'Abdul-Hamid II. It may, in the troublous years that followed, have been obtained by a Turkish ambassador for political reasons.

The manuscript, printed by Professor Minorsky in facsimile, seems to indicate that it had been prepared for the perusal of a crowned head. It covers 259 small size pages ($3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$) and is written in large beautiful naskh; and, apart from the difficulty caused by the technical terms, it is not difficult to read. "The MS. is beautifully written," says Professor Minorsky, "but the scribe did his work mechanically; he was negligent in his spelling and hardly concerned with the meaning of the original. In places the text is disturbed and the particularly important tables of the budget look at first sight like a puzzle." The *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* does not give the name of its author. The author may have belonged to the Department of the Mint (as Professor Minorsky seems to think), mint and finance are certainly described in greater detail than other departments. The style of the book is dull and heavy but lucid, like the usual style of good blue-books, and it is quite possible that we have here like an official administrative manual to which every department had contributed its information and which a finance expert had put into proper shape.

"The *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk*," says Professor Minorsky, "belongs to the interesting class of political manuals which is poorly represented in Persian literature. It forms a welcome accession to our materials, for it deals with the more permanent and solid facts of State organisation, in contradistinction to our narrative sources which pay too much attention to the kaleidoscopic succession of battles, appointments and intrigues." Nevertheless, as a government manual, the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* suffers from serious shortcomings. We do not find in it those discussions on the religion, philosophy and

arts of the day—things from discovering the specific gravity of metals and the casting of cannon to the art of pigeon-flying—that have made the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* so deservedly famous. It tells us nothing about the country as a whole. The provincial and local administrations are entirely ignored apart from a paragraph in Chapter II on the Frontier Amirs and a list in the Conclusion specifying their income and expenditure. We learn nothing about the peasantry of the provinces, the procedure for collecting State-dues, the officers of the local government, and their duties, functions and perquisites. It could hardly be otherwise, for the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* was compiled when the *Ṣafavī* government over the provinces had disappeared and no stable government worth mentioning had taken its place.

The scope of the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* is confined exclusively to the institutions of the central government, i.e., the royal palace, the *Dīwān* and other offices at the centre, the mint, the workshops (*Kārkhānājāt*) maintained by the central government, and the administration of the city of Isfahān. The functions of all central officers (including, of course, the *Mujtahids*), are carefully defined. They are intentionally made to overlap; there must have been a lot of administrative friction to which the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* does not refer. The chief feature of the work is its exposition of office-procedure—the preparation of documents, description of the work of the senior officers (*Sufid Rishān*) and clerks in charge, and the rules for the sealing and counter-sealing of petitions, documents and orders. There was an amount of bureaucratic red-tapism which must have been self-impairing; and almost every officer, who sealed, signed or passed a document on to another officer, exacted a fee from the person concerned. So far as office procedure is concerned—and this is the main theme of this *Tadhkira*—no work like it has yet come to light in the historical records of India.

It would not be right to conclude that an official handbook like this would fail to give an account of the income of the

officers under an apprehension, perhaps, that if recorded, they might be kept in record. As a rule, the regular salaries did not count; in case of some of the highest officers there were no salaries. But all made a decent living by charging a fee from petitioners, from officers appointed by the king and by levying a percentage for themselves on the income and expenditure of the State. The Conclusion of the work specifies the fees and salaries in detail. A few entries will give an idea of the rest:—

(1) *The Wakil*.—No special salary was provided for the Wakil of the Supreme Diwān, and his fees as levied per tūmān are such as shown under each item:—

- (a) from *Ikhrajāt*, 126 dirhams, 1½ dang;
- (b) from cash paid to the Amīrs, Muqarrabs and Eunuchs, 192 dirhams;
- (c) from Tiyūl, etc., granted to the Amīrs—

- (i) from Tiyūl, 357 dirhams;

- (ii) from Hamasāla, 238 dirhams;

- (d) from the In'āms given to the Amīrs and the persons not being on the staff; from the *suyurghāls*, *mu'afis*, salaries, Musallamī and Haqqas-Sa'y of the 'Amīls, 714 dirhams.

(2) *The Grand Vizier*.—The Vizier of the Supreme Diwān had no salary. The following *Rasmal-Vizāra*, etc., grants and fees were allotted to him:—

(a) *Rasmal-Vizāra* fixed from the Mahāl.....803 tūmāns, 3,000 dirhams;

(b) annual grants

Cash.....20 tūmāns ;
the rest is kind : a moiety of 7 tūmāns
70 dirhams ;

(c) (also) fees per tūmān :—

- (i) from leases by way of Haqqal Qarar, 500 dirhams ;

- (ii) from Tiyūl, 330 dirhams ;

- (iii) from Hamasāla, 220 dirhams ;

- (iv) from grants to the Amīrs and persons not belonging to the staff, from *Suyurghāls*, *Mu'afis*, Musallamī, Haqqas-Sa'y of the 'Amīls, 714 dirhams.

But it was not only the highest officers who mulcted the government, the servants of the State and the public of their legitimate income. A swarm of smaller fry also claimed their shares, which have been recorded in full for seventy-nine officers thus—

(3) “*The Keeper of the August Seal*—once a year he received 30 tūmāns as “a cash for the cord of the seal;” he also had fees, per tūmān :—

- (a) from the Tiyūl of the Amīrs, 260 dirhams ;

- (b) from the grants to the Amīrs, and to the persons not being on the staff, as well as from the *Suyurghāls*, *Mu'afis*, *Iqtā's*, salaries and Haqqas-Sa'y of the 'Amīls, 520 dirhams ;

- (c) from the Amīrs' Hamasāla .. 133 dirhams, 2 dangs ;

- (d) from the cash of the Amīrs' salaries, 66 dirhams, 2 dangs.

The Keeper of the “Sharaf-i-Nafādh” Seal.—He received fees per tūmān:—

- (a) from the Tiyūl of the Amīrs, from the salaries and Haqqas-Sa'y of the 'Amīls, from the fixed salary of the Amīrs, 315 dirhams ;

- (b) from the Hamasāla salary of the Amīrs, 157 dirhams, 2 dangs.

The Mughal and the Šafavī administrations were organised on different but parallel lines and students of mediæval Indian history have much to learn from a work like this. Unfortunately the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* portrays the Šafavī system when it was on its last legs. It was not possible for the author of the work to express any personal regrets at the change of regime, but a bare statement of facts, i.e., of offices not filled up, of colleagues who had died during the siege, gives us some idea of what he had been feeling.

Of Professor Minorsky's work as translator and editor it is impossible to speak except with the greatest admiration and respect. So far as was humanly possible, he had made up for the shortcomings of the *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk* by culling all relevant information from the Persian histories of the Šafavids and the

accounts of European travellers. Sixty pages of the translation have been supplemented up with 133 pages of Introduction, Commentary and Appendices, covering every imaginable item concerning Persian administration and the economic and social condition of the country. Taken as a whole, Professor Minorsky has given us an excellent manual on Šafavid Persia, which will remain an outstanding achievement for some generations to come.

M. Hab.

LIFE OF MUHAMMAD by Šu'fī Muḥī-ur-Rahmān Bengalee; published by the Muslim Sun Rise Press, 220, South State Street, Chicago; pp. 286, with a map of Arabia and several illustrations; price not given.

THIS is a small volume, neatly printed during the period of war, 1941, on the life and teachings of the founder of Islam. It is a successful piece of work written by a Qādiyāni missionary and intended originally for American Christians, and is readable. It also shows on the part of the author considerable reading and original thinking. The quotations from the history of the Bible, etc., are interesting.

We could have recommended it to be put in the hands of even Orthodox Muslims had not the author intentionally or unintentionally inserted now and then expressions like "Hazrat Ahmād, the Promised Messiah, gives a vivid description" (p. 220).

Again, the author seems to have access directly to the original Arabic sources.

It is inexplicable, therefore, why he some times refers to the works of Mīrzā Ghulām Ahmād or his son and successor, Bāshīr Ahmād (p. 77), for facts regarding the life of the Holy Prophet. This neither enhances the standard of the work nor satisfies the reader who wants to know the authority from whom the facts are quoted.

Apart from a few misprints, there are some errors due either to Indian or provincial education, like the following:—

Tirmudhi (p. 226) for the correct Tirmidhī.

Imraul Qais (p. 27) for the correct Imru'-ul-Qais.

Mawahib Ladunniya (p. 281) for the correct Mawāhib Ladunniyya.

Faqaym (p. 19) for the correct Fuqaym.

The small map of Arabia, facing p. 281 is not of much help to the reader. There are several mistakes in it. For instance, Banū-Khuzā'a given in the extreme north should read Qudā'ah; the Khuzā'a lived south of Mecca. By Zul Koza, north of Madina, is apparently meant Dhul-Qussah.

Unfortunately, none of the photographs is genuine. In the picture of Mecca the wall-less Maqām Ibrāhīm, in the Mosque of Madina the rooflessness even in the main portion of the building, the legible "جرمن باؤٹ" p. 74, and the snow-clad appearance of the fantastic peaks and plains of the cave Hīrā and the Mount of Light can scarcely gratify even the casual reader.

We hope these defects will be removed in subsequent editions.

M. H.

BOOKS RECEIVED

1. *The Crescent*, organ of the Surat City Muslim Students Union. It is an attractive magazine containing some very interesting articles by the pen of well-known scholars. It is published in three languages : English, Urdu and Gujarati.
2. *The Arab Civilization* by Joseph Hell (2nd edition, published by Sh. Md. Ashraf).
3. *Mujaddid's Conception of Tauḥīd* by Dr. Burhan Ahmad Farūqi ; 2nd edition published by Sh. Md. Ashraf.
4. *Complaint and Answer*, translation of Iqbāl's *Shikwah* into English by Altaf Husain ; published by Sh. Md. Ashraf.
5. *Muslim University Journal*, Volume I, New Series, March 1943.
6. *The Way Out* by C. Rajagopalachari, published by Oxford University Press.
7. *Kesava Pandita's Dandaniti*, (Criminal Jurisprudence) edited by V. S. Bendrey.
8. *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Volume VII, Part 2.
9. *Deccan College, Postgraduate and Research Institute Calendar for Fifth Session, 1943-44.*
10. *University of Ceylon Review*, April 1943.

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